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OBSERVATIONS IN ASIA

OBSERVATIONS IN ASIA

By
Percy Stickney Grant

New York
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TO
THE MEMORY OF
HENRY CODMAN POTTER
A GREAT PERSONALITY
A WISE BISHOP
AN AFFECTIONATE
FRIEND

Introduction

IN the winter of 1899-1900 Bishop Potter made a trip around the world with the object of visiting India. He took occasion also to look up matters connected with the Episcopal Church in the Pacific and in Asia, being a member of a Commission on the Relation of the Protestant Episcopal Church to our New Possessions. He invited me to accompany him as honorary secretary to the Commission.

We both received memorable impressions. Bishop Potter had become somewhat dubious of the methods and results of missionary work in Asia. What he saw restored his high opinion of missionaries and their accomplishment.

Bishop Potter, too, started for his steamer a strong anti-imperialist—indeed, he stopped on his way at a church congress to express, publicly, his opposition to the administration's Philippine policy. A week in Manila and the environs, in constant conversation with persons of all classes and of long

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residence, added to his observations of the general problems of the East, convinced him of the soundness of the government's position.

Anything that we can learn about Asia is worthy of attention, for Japan and China are, in many ways, to be the problems of the United States. Ten years ago Governor Brady, of Alaska, remarked to me that the Pacific would be the Mediterranean of the twentieth century. In San Francisco, at a dinner given to Bishop Potter, our hosts laughingly assured us that we were now at the front door of America; that New York was merely the back door. If many Americans hold these opinions, then, any careful contribution to our knowledge of Asia, however slight, needs no excuse.

Yet I hope readers of this book will not feel that it displays an authoritative tone, unbecoming the fragmentary record of hasty observation. There are reasons why even a globe-trotter picks up a good many important ideas in the East. Travel in Asia is different from travel in Europe. The length of the voyage across the Pacific; the representative character of his fellow-passengers, many of them old residents of Asia, in business or in various services (diplomatic, consular, army, navy, missionary)

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INTRODUCTION

induce a companionship and interchange of thought on big subjects, quite different from Atlantic travel. Our ship was a floating university, where problems of the Orient were daily discussed by experienced observers. In Asia, itself, the European residents are full to overflowing with observations about the populations in which they are almost submerged. They offer their guests a lifetime of conclusions with the relish of a Trappist absolved from his vow of silence.

I cannot exaggerate, either, the mental excitement an American experiences in the East,—it is far beyond what he feels in Europe. First impressions, always strong and with values of their own, are intensified by the surrounding strangeness of Asia. In Japan he finds himself living in the middle ages; in India plunged into still remoter centuries. To his own small span of life he has added the age of the Crusaders and of the patriarchs.

The long voyages, too, between ports on the Pacific and the Indian Oceans, encourage the traveler to make himself acquainted with what has been written with most authority about the places he expects to see.

Have I suggested sufficient reasons for

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my quickly filled notebook; have I intimated beyond a doubt the modesty with which I wish to offer these "Observations"?

The articles in this volume were written soon after my return, several of them at the request of *The Churchman* and *The Outlook*, and are now put out substantially in their first form.

P. S. GRANT.

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**OBSERVATIONS
IN ASIA**

A Steamer View of the Chinese

WE are passengers on a steamer which runs between San Francisco and Hongkong, touching at Honolulu, Yokohama, the Inland Sea ports and Shanghai. The line is owned by an English company and flies the British flag. The officers are English, the crew is Chinese. The steamer is chartered and managed by an American company; but the American company cannot buy the boat because it was built in England. The Chinese crew cannot land in Honolulu or San Francisco, except after much red tape, including the giving of bonds by the American company; practically they never go ashore except in China. Yet we are going to China to see the great wall.

There are 89 Chinamen in our crew, 12 state-room stewards and table boys, besides 700 celestials in the steerage—some

800 in all. Were I to include the 300 bodies of dead Chinamen in the hold, sent from up and down the Pacific coast of North and South America for burial at home, our ship would seem to be laden with the yellow race. But 800 Chinamen are under our observation for nearly three weeks—or four, if we go on to Hongkong. In fact, we cannot get away from them. A steamer view of the Chinese has its interest. It composes well, as a painter would say, because it is isolated and kept so long under one point of observation.

There is no second cabin: only first and steerage. Felt soles patter everywhere except on the promenade deck, and we cannot take a turn to the fore or aft rail without being fascinated by the strange scenes on the main deck below. Our small boys hang over the rail for a snapshot; the ladies pretend dismay at so much gambling seen at short range; and those of us who have strong stomachs never tire of watching the Chinese “chow” consumed at mealtime by hundreds of squatting Chinamen. The faces, dress, behavior, eating, playing or the cabin service and skill of these subjects of “Aunt,” as the Empress Dowager is colloquially called in the East, are matters of hourly attention and comment among

the passengers. At Honolulu two families of wealthy Chinamen came aboard as cabin passengers and added a dozen more men, women, and children of a higher class to our list.

On the dock, in San Francisco, the faces that we, from the steamer, looked down upon were almost all Chinese. Think of a Cunard pier on sailing day black (or yellow) with Chinese. We had never seen so many of the race together before. We studied the crowd for facial differences. To us self-centered Saxons a foreign people presents, on first acquaintance, no differentiation of countenance or individuality. The song is right. They all look alike. But it is not only the negro we stare at so unsympathetically. We regard the Mongolian in the same way, and the Sikh police in Shanghai. We perceive the type, but we do not distinguish the individual. In Japan an American on coming out of a shop cannot recognize his jinrikisha boy among a group; fortunately the boy recognizes him. So we, on the steamer, looked down into the hundreds of upturned yellow faces on the wharf in San Francisco and tried to note the difference between Ah Sin and Sam Lee—and learned a little. A few women fringed the front of the crowd. They were

the first of their color we had ever seen. Their dress was a stuff as sober and dignified as black satin; their hair was caught in nets and was elaborately neat. The winter hat, a three-inch black band that covers the front of the hair and comes down over the top of the ears, stopping at the coil of the hair, accentuated the roundness and fullness of the women's faces and gave the impression of a package trimly tied up.

Our steamer's casting off from shore was the signal for many printed bits of paper to flutter over the sides from the hands of our Chinese fellow-travelers,—prayers for “good joss,” good fortune, at the hands of their gods while on the sea. Their New Year's celebration in the Kingdom of the Great Dragon called them home: father, mother and kindred awaited them; they left the land that enriched them with prayers to see again the land where they were born. Yet, notwithstanding this happy home-going, every man John of them had his certificate as “merchant,” were he laundryman or cook, which contained his portrait and description, without which he could never again set foot in America. With joss to the ocean for a good voyage, and the certificate in his pocket for a sure re-

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turn, he can face the long, and for him uncomfortable, voyage to the Far East.

The religious nature of the Chinese is strikingly in evidence on the ship. In the fore-castle there are two little lamps (merely wicks suspended in saucers of peanut oil) always burning before red and gold shrines. Every voyage end the woodwork around and above the shrines is painted white, but the incessant smoking flame blackens it again, as the lamps shine to the gods over these great stretches of water, back and forth across the Pacific. In the Yellow Sea I heard an explosion of firecrackers in the steerage and found they were burning joss and throwing to the sea a basket of candles, candy, and Chinese dainties, for the spirits of 900 Chinese lost at about that spot in a typhoon. Firecrackers have to be taken seriously in China, where they are used by some congregations of native Roman Catholics in the mass as the signal at the elevation of the host.

In spite of their joss and lamp and shrine, the most marked trait among these coolies is their fondness for gambling, or, indeed, for any game. Dice, dominoes, and checkers, all of a strange pattern and use, are their constant employment. They squat shoeless on straw matting or on the bare

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deck, on the covered hatches, or the piles of baggage on their sleeping deck—always ready and forever playing. One of the Chinese sailors set up a game and promptly lost \$50 to a couple of cabin passengers, who were tempted down into the waist of the ship by the sight of dice and by their own restlessness. His losses did not disturb the keeper of the game, although his wages were only \$15 (Mexican) a month, \$7.50 gold.

A continuous game goes on in the fore-castle among the cabin boys. They sit upon a high mat-covered table or stand around it. Before the players gold eagles gleam among piles of silver dollars. What a picture! A dark little triangle at the bow under a low ceiling, with light shining in excited faces from the quiet flames before the golden shrines; a confusion of quick motions of the players, clink of coin, guttural cries, and fumes of opium from neighboring bunks. Sometimes several thousand dollars change hands on the way across.

The return trip to the Golden Gate is more decorous. John Chinaman on his voyage back to America, after his New Year's celebration and his gifts to relatives, is out of funds. A great difference is also seen in the baggage going and coming. To judge by his luggage you would think each

Chinaman was an actress straight from Paris. The stowing of it away is a great trouble to the ship. The captain complains that going out the Chinese carry not baggage but cargo. All these trunks are full of gifts. Their owners have little enough with them on their return voyage to America.

Sleeping, smoking, talking in strident tones; gaming, standing with hands tucked in sleeves, our Chinamen spend the clear, mild days. Never a sign of anything to read among the 800. But I forget a cueless brother, a Salvation Army officer, married to a white woman. He is on his way to convert his countrymen. He has one of the two chairs on the main deck and there he sits erect, with no support for his back, immovable, like a king among squatting subjects, reading hour after hour. On Sunday his wife, kindly but weary of eye and almost as yellow as himself, plays a diminutive organ and sings gospel hymns, surrounded by scores of mute Chinamen entirely respectful, even interested and curious. Another woman, her friend, sings with her and the little Chinaman with "S" on his collar stands very straight and sings, too, setting an example to his race and exhorting them.

Our cabin boys talk pidgin-English. An

Englishman across the table from me, a banker from up the Yang Tse, converses with them. They talk quite seriously and understand each other. Pidgin-English had always seemed to me an infantile, goo-goo, make-believe sort of speech. It is the medium of communication for business purposes (pidgin means business) not only between Chinese and English but between the Chinese of different provinces, it being a simpler language for a Chinaman to learn than his own various dialects. The excellent part of pidgin-English is not its brevity; it is a copious and picturesque speech. The Bishop was known among the Chinese on the steamer as "number one, top-side, joss, pidgin-man"—that is "the head man of superior excellence who made religion the business of his life." English is likely to become the second language of Asia unless there is a Russian invasion.

The Chinese are dealt with very kindly by the Pacific Liners. They may gamble or smoke opium to their hearts' content with no fear of American police. This to them is heaven. If they die on the voyage they are not buried at sea, but are embalmed and carried home. This is in the company's contract. One of Ah Sin's tricks, not always vain with American

steamship men, is connected with the shipping of dead Chinamen. It costs \$20 a box, and one box holds one Chinaman. The Chinese have a way of putting three in a \$50 box, so saving \$10—a game hard for the company to beat. Burial in Chinese soil is, indeed, almost a central dogma and requirement of Chinese religion. How else can ancestor-worship thrive or how can a state and a society endure built on the subordination of the subject to the king, the child to the parents, the wife to the husband? The worship at graves is the symbol and teaching of all these grades of political, class, and social subordination.

The looks of a Chinese coolie are against him. His cotton trousers, which flap in the wind, his shapeless jacket shirt, his clumsy shoes, his shaven forehead and temples, his idiotic queue all make us laugh—we cannot take such a spectacle seriously. Our American Chinamen, however, come mostly from the south and are treated by northern Chinamen like gamin—bright, but low born.

The shaven foreheads produce a severe facial angle. Probably our steerage passengers look as well as an equal number of American laborers would look if they were dressed and shaved in the same way. Yet

what different faces our Chinese cabin passengers have—so smooth and calm and intelligent! There must be some latent power of soul and brain behind that unlined calmness yet to surprise the world.

Why should the race still wear the queue originally imposed as a badge of servitude by their Tartar conquerors? Why, indeed! Yet when the king proclaimed an edict abolishing the queue, with some other reforms, the Empress Dowager promptly clapped him in prison on an island in the Pink Palace while his advisers were slain or scattered. What the poor young Emperor could not do, industrial progress can, perhaps, accomplish. In silk filatures and cotton mills, where European machinery is employed, hideous accidents happen which are due to the trailing queues of slow, thoughtless workers getting caught in the wheels. For a pigtail to be worn up (twisted around the head) before a superior is an insult.

Our crowded steerage with its limited facilities for washing still keeps itself clean, although the Chinaman on ship board takes only a partial interest in his pores. He bathes his face and neck and feet carefully. The rest he leaves.

The Chinamen's feet were a surprise to

me. Knowing that women of position in China distort their feet into small stumps, and seeing the curious felt footgear of the men, I had always credited to them a similar usage. This is far from the fact. Men do not compress their feet. Of the hundreds of bare feet seen on our decks I noticed only one misformed and one other that needed a chiropodist. They nurse their feet with as much pleasure as Liszt's friend, the Princess Wittgenstein. The feet of one of the little girls of our rich Honolulu Chinese merchants were, I noticed, of the natural shape. I expressed my surprise. He said: "Making feet small must stop." A reform spirit is abroad in the matter. I am ashamed to say, however, that in China an "Anti-Foot Squeezing Society," started by European women, has been checkmated by an "Anti-Waist Squeezing Society," started by the women of the small feet. This is ungrateful.

As for the crew, their officers speak highly of them, for they never drink; and such sailors, in an officer's eyes, are ideal. Add seamanship and courage to sobriety, and what more can you ask? We are told many stories of the bravery of Chinese sailors on European or American ships in times of danger. There are surely no seas where

more devastating storms rage than on their own. The uncertain path of typhoons on the seas around Formosa is notorious. The Chinese ought to be good seamen. Their uncomplaining disposition and their natural freedom from intoxicating drinks entitle them to their officers' praise. But one cannot help wondering, what would really happen to the whites in case of fire or foundering, with 100 yellow men in the crew and 700 more in the steerage.

The stock of the Chinaman rises as one nears the East. He is reliable, quiet, a good business man. These statements are generally made in the form of a comparison. The Chinaman is to be trusted. He is commercially "good for what he buys." It is the generally accepted rule, on the other hand, to accept neither the word nor the bond of the Japanese business man. They say in the East that—"His word is as bad as his bond."

If this is a Japanese failing, it may be a survival of feudalism and will soon be outgrown. Under the feudal system the merchant in Japan was at the bottom of the classes. As recently as forty years ago it was considered a disgrace to be connected with money making. In China the merchant for centuries has been esteemed. At any rate, the Chinese compradore is the

man through whose hands money passes to you, even in the English banks and Japanese hotels; in trade Honest John's word is as good as John Bull's from Dai Nippon to the Straits Settlements.

In the matter of bed and board the coolie going home across the Pacific is well cared for. His bed is canvas stretched between bamboos. These are in blocks—two tiers, of three beds each—which fill between-decks forward. The beds are clean and cooler than Atlantic steerage accommodations I have seen.

I had supposed Chinamen at home ate nothing but rice. His rice bears about the same proportion to his whole meal that the potato does to the fare of an English operative. Our Chinamen had a number of other dishes, especially stews of meat and little fishes. The fishes he mixes with his rice in a pint bowl, or eats by themselves, lifting them from a common dish to his mouth with the chopsticks.

Besides these viands they receive of course tea and ship's bread. Almost every Chinaman is traveling with a teapot wrapped up in a padded bag. The pouring of his national beverage by a favored person in the center of each steerage group of eight or ten, is a ceremony.

The steerage, then, is well fed, yet each Chinaman costs the company only nine cents (gold) a day. In fact, it is on the steerage and freight that the ship's profit is made. After seeing chopsticks used for the first time, I think much can be said in their favor. Their handling, even by the coolie, is a more graceful matter than the brandishing or even lifting of our table cutlery. The unpleasant feature of their use comes when the rice bowl is put to the mouth and the contents directly stowed in by the chopsticks. This looks a little savage, yet is it worse than a mouth bent over a plate, open to receive a pyramidal assortment of food upon the knife of our ancestors, or upon the polite fork?

When the flat shore of the Yang Tse came in sight,—the first glimpse of their native land—I went forward to the railing and watched the Chinamen. They crowded to the side of the ship, but their faces were expressionless. When we anchored at Woosung—some twenty miles below Shanghai—Chinese sampans swarmed out to us. A juggler came on board who palmed balls, ate fire, and did marvels in our eyes. But among the Chinese trade reigned. Dealers in fur-lined jackets filled the main deck, and the returning coolies

bargained for a winter garment that should be warm.

Our stolid Chinamen at last displayed a lively interest in the approach to Hongkong up the long, narrow channel with its mountainous and fortified banks. As our American Chinese were bound for Canton, Hongkong was their port. Their welcome in Hongkong harbor was enthusiastic enough to kindle even Mongolian imperturbability. Sampons, whose sides were studded with round shields, propelled by swift oars, crowded around us. As they got in position under our sides, the shields proved to be great umbrellas which were seized by the eager crew and waved to attract the attention of our yellow pilgrims, for the top of the umbrellas contained advertisements of Chinese boarding houses and hotels. Unceremoniously trunks and pigtailed disappeared over the side of the steamer, without waiting for gangplanks or any assistance in disembarking, and the sampons quickly scurried away to place on Chinese soil the sons who had returned to honor the New Year and spend American gold.

The Land Question in the Philippines

THE gravest question with which the United States must deal in the Philippines is that of land ownership. In the past the monastic orders by fair or foul means got possession of the best land in the islands. The Filipino people now fear that American syndicates will buy out the friars and succeed them. The oppression incident to ecclesiastical control of land was largely responsible for the insurrection of 1896. The dread of new and more powerful landlords has been a large element in the opposition of Aguinaldo and his people to American rule.

Many of the abuses connected with Spanish rule in the archipelago will disappear with the inevitable acceptance of American institutions. *Habeas corpus*, open instead of secret trials, the use of witnesses to substantiate bare accusations, the placing of the clergy under the operation of the civil law, will almost at a blow destroy the old

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Spanish tyrannies of a Church that is above the law, and of a State that is the servant of the Church. The religious question in the Philippines, under a just civil government will settle itself. In the future a Filipino can choose any religion he wants, or no religion, and need not fear molestation. Such is the theory and practice of American institutions.

The land question will be more difficult to settle. The importance of the question can be best seen, perhaps, by considering in detail some of its elements. (1) Land titles in the Philippines are vague. (2) The great landowners are the monastic orders. (3) Landownership in Asia is a different matter from landownership in Europe. (4) The Filipino people are poor. (5) The Filipino people are careless of their own property rights, and must be protected against Western capitalists and others. (6) The source of wealth in the Philippines is chiefly agriculture. (7) A dependency must pay for its administration.

LAND TITLES IN THE PHILIPPINES ARE VAGUE

For some two centuries after Spanish rule was fastened upon the Philippine Islands (say from Legaspi's governor-gener-

alship in 1571), all land was technically owned by the State. As no titles were given, squatters and land-grabbers were not interfered with. During this period the monastic orders possessed themselves of some of the most fertile land on Luzon. At a later period land tenure came to exist by absolute freehold under title deeds granted by the State or by right of undisturbed possession.

Tenants who actually worked the land have been little more than slaves, although they could hold property, and were not bound to the soil. Long leases were not often given.

As recently as 1885 the chaotic conditions of landownership led to a proposition for the Government to grant guaranteed titles—called *Titulos Reales*, and to establish a Real Estate Registration office. These propositions, which would have given security to owners of land who could prove title to it, were finally defeated by the monastic party and others who feared for their titles.

T H E G R E A T L A N D O W N E R S A R E
T H E M O N A S T I C O R D E R S

The conditions which existed in Europe before the Reformation, when in some countries religious corporations owned

three fourths of all the land, existed in the Philippine Islands when Dewey sailed into Manila Bay. In Europe ecclesiastical ownership was the result of mortuary gifts made by devotees or penitents. In the Philippines the case is different. The islanders are too poor to have land to give away. More than this, they have never been land-owners to any great extent. The conditions of ownership have been so loosely defined that any grasping and powerful person or corporation could seize and hold the soil. The ecclesiastical power being the dominant one, the Church is the great proprietor.

Contested landownership is the most serious cause of disputes between people and clergy. One of the most unpardonable offenses of the Filipino patriot and martyr, Dr. Rizal, was his opposition to monastic ownership of land where the friars could show no title. In his own home he was the leader of a movement to make the Dominicans disgorge a large tract of farming land. Whatever the occasional justice of the Church's position may have been, an air of rapacity was cast over her dealings by her willingness to hold land without title, her unwillingness to have Government titles granted to rightful owners, and by the

barbarous punishments and banishments meted out to those men who in these matters dared to oppose her.

The friars have certainly placed themselves in a questionable position. The way in which they went about to possess themselves of land seems to an American incredible. One of our countrymen, of whom I know, bought a piece of ground a few years ago in Luzon. He had not occupied it long before he received a tax bill from the Church. He owed the Church nothing, but he consulted a friend as to his best course. The friend said: "Pay the bill, by all means, and save yourself trouble." The sum was not a large one, only \$15, and the American paid it. The next year another bill came from the Church, double the amount of the first. He paid it. The next year another bill came, double the amount of the second. The next year the insurrection broke out, the friars were driven from their cures and there were no more of these bills.

A school friend of mine has a sugar plantation in the Philippines. He told me that natives frequently came to him from the other side of the island in search of employment. When he asked them why they came so far from home for work they would usual-

ly reply: "We had farms of our own, but the friars came to us and told us that our land belonged to them, so we had to leave."

Every one in Manila will tell you with what difficulty the city wrested from the hands of the monks property that was left by a Spanish official to provide the city with a pure water supply.

One reason why this monastic monopoly of land has especially exasperated the Filipinos is that the friars have exceeded their proper ecclesiastical power. In the Catholic Church there are two kinds of clergy—the one called secular, in charge of parishes but not belonging to a brotherhood; the other called regular, consisting of monks. By the Council of Trent the latter were forbidden to hold parish cures except in cases of necessity. The reason for this regulation is plain. There being more monks than parish priests, it would often be convenient to send out monks as missionaries; but it was not the will of the Church that a monastic order should strengthen that power which it had as a brotherhood by the influence or by the property that came with parish cures. The friars in the Philippines have continued to hold parishes in the Philippines for three hundred years, contrary

to the decrees of Trent, by special privilege granted by different Popes, but they have made themselves a necessity *by suppressing the native priesthood*. The Filipino has therefore a double bitterness about the monastic monopoly of land—the friars have taken land that should be his; moreover, the friars would not now be in the islands if they had not thwarted the desire of the people for a native and non-monastic ministry.

Considering the monastic greed of land and the consequent oppression of the Filipino people, we are not surprised to find the very first declaration in the insurgent edict of July, 1897, one in respect to land, the subject again referred to in paragraph four. The Filipinos demand: (1) Expulsion of the friars and *restitution to the townships of land which the friars have appropriated*, dividing the incumbencies held by them as well as the Episcopal sees equally between Peninsular (Spanish) and Insular (native) secular priests (that is, non-monastic). (4) Restitution of all lands appropriated by the friars to the townships or to the original owners, or in default of finding such owners the State is to put them up to public auction in small lots of a value within reach of all, and payable within four years, the same as the present State lands.

OBSERVATIONS IN ASIA

LANDOWNERSHIP IN ASIA IS A DIFFERENT MATTER FROM LANDOWNERSHIP IN EUROPE OR AMERICA

Whatever our personal views of the land question in general may be, we must treat this question in the Orient as an independent proposition, to be settled on its merits. Western ideas do not seem to apply there. The sovereign or the State has held a position towards the land different in theory and practice from English and American use. The Asiatic State is more of a landlord than is the State in Europe or America. Lord Mayo, when Governor-General of India, said: "The government of India is not only a government, but the chief landlord. The duties which in England are performed by a good landlord fall in India, in a great measure upon the Government." In Japan, even since the abolition of the feudal system of land tenure, the Government has come into the closest relation to land by a method of taxation which tends to abolish private holdings of agricultural lands except by the actual users of the soil. In the Philippines for two centuries no titles were given by the State, in which all rights were vested. Even when individuals owned land

they could be forced to use it as Government directed. They could be forced to grow the Government tobacco crop, for instance, and could cut timber only if licensed.

The English, the most tenacious people in the world of the rights of private property, especially in land, have lately modified the old English use and the policy of a century of British rule in India, in favor of State ownership, in order to meet the needs of the Government of India, to conform to the habits of the people and to produce the best results for the users of the soil. In India eighty per cent of the population are directly connected with agriculture, ten per cent indirectly, and ten per cent live in towns. Land tenure is therefore the prime question.

This view of the function of the Government of India has not always been held by Englishmen. A hundred years ago the English squierarchy system was established in Bengal. That system was not only like the English system, but it was a part of a scheme for forming a native aristocracy who, it was supposed, would identify their personal interests with the interests of the British rulers. These hopes were disappointed. Moreover, the landlord class thus raised into existence in Bengal has proved an incubus. In spite of British prejudices,

therefore, the leading Indian administrators to-day believe in Government ownership. After careful survey, numbering of lots, mappings, etc., in which native labor can be utilized to save expense, a rent is fixed for a number of years upon the basis of produce for a series of years in the past. This system permits an easy adjustment of taxes in bad years. Witnesses can testify in behalf of owner, or the commissioner can personally visit the property. Such lands cannot be sold or mortgaged by the holder. The occupancy tenant with permanent rights in the land, but without the power to sell, has been found in India to be richer in cattle and more prosperous, as evinced by good clothes, houses, etc., than any other class.

The Filipinos preferred to have the tobacco monopoly in the hands of Government rather than to have it in the hands of private individuals, although it was an outrageous abuse of power, and required enforced labor, the raising of specified crops to be sold at a fixed price, with taxes upon tobacco and with harassing regulation about its use even by growers.

THE FILIPINO PEOPLE ARE POOR

Asia is poor. We are skeptical of the poverty of the East. We have heard so

much about "the wealth of Ormus and of Ind," so much about "barbaric pearls and gold" of Mandarin, Mikado and Mogul, that we picture the East a place of inexhaustible wealth, mysterious and fabulous, like the land where the slaves of the lamp and of the ring got treasure for Aladdin. We still fancy the Orient the home of riches, as it appeared to the explorers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Jewels, silks and spices continue to be luxuries to us, yet they seem to be the common output of Asia. On the contrary, Asia is poor. Her chief, indeed, her only source of wealth is land, and from it she must feed about 800,000,000 people. It is true that vast wealth has been gathered into the treasuries of Oriental monarchs. Oppressive in their governments, such rulers have collected great revenues, which were spent on wars, palaces, voluptuous pleasures, jewels and the pomp and splendor of barbaric courts and camps. The peacock throne which adorned the marble palace of Delhi, the capital of the Moguls, was estimated to be worth \$30,000,000 and this was a spoil of war carried away by the Persian Shah in 1739. No wonder Asia is reputed to be rich. But why should she be rich with no source of production to speak of ex-

cept land; with an enormous population, with no inventiveness and with great inertia?

While palaces and princes absorbed the surplus wealth of the land, the people languished. In the early part of the nineteenth century the Abbé Dubois, a distinguished French missionary, resident for many years in the Madras Presidency, stated that, in spite of the advantages of British rule in India, the natives might not be able to pay for it, because they were very poor. The poverty of India he considered the main obstacle to English rule. China, too, is poor. A. H. Smith, one of the few authorities on the Kingdom of the Great Dragon, says: "The poverty of China is its characteristic." Japan, too, is poor. Its arable land is only one twelfth of its area. A surface no larger than Massachusetts supports 42,000,000 people. To-day in Japan it is hard to raise the revenue for the maintenance of Government. The Philippines are poor, and their case is more difficult in one respect than that of any other country in Asia. There are millions of savages in the islands who must be civilized (that is, brought out of the forests and taught agriculture) *for whom land must be reserved in trust.*

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THE FILIPINO PEOPLE ARE CARELESS OF THEIR OWN PROPERTY RIGHTS, AND MUST BE PROTECTED AGAINST WESTERN CAPITALISTS AND OTHERS

The Filipinos will occupy land for years and never apply for a title. This, of course, gives every opportunity to unscrupulous persons who covet their possessions. They are improvident as farmers, like our Southern negro. They borrow money on their crops at a rate of interest that is almost sure to ruin them, for their title to property is so vague and insecure that they have nothing to mortgage. Governments in the East must supply not only knowledge but initiative and capital. In India the only landlord with requisite knowledge, it has been found, is the State. In the opinion of Indian administrators no one but Government could have carried on the protracted and costly experiments in tea culture, for so long a time an apparent failure, which have now made the tea of India and Ceylon a leading export and source of wealth.

If we give private ownership to the Filipinos they will not be able to withstand the temptation to sell to syndicates, or they will be unable to compete with the brutal meth-

ods of the West. The ideal ownership would be a Government proprietor and thousands of tenant workers of the soil. Nor would the land yield less under such tenant occupancy. Indeed, working for themselves with the aid of a wise Department of Agriculture, the Filipinos would probably produce more than they would if merely servants of an American corporation. The Indian ryot is one of the most productive farmers in the world. We must, therefore, protect the lands of the Filipinos from the rapacity of our own countrymen.

In Asia, wherever an intelligent attempt is being made to provide for the welfare of the people, the Government is getting rid of middlemen. In the Malay Peninsular the Government is taking into its own hands mines, once granted to private companies. Siam has tried to do likewise and to take back teak concessions. Japan made a great stride in 1868 in throwing over the feudal system when it bought out great feudal proprietors and paid them in bonds. The process toward Government ownership is going on still in Dai Nippon. This tendency to abolish private ownership in lands, supported by the best English minds that have had experience in the East, and justified by its benefits to Government and

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to people, may eventually compel the United States to become the Filipinos' landlord.

THE SOURCE OF WEALTH IN THE PHILIPPINES IS CHIEFLY AGRICULTURE

What Lord Mayo said of India applies word for word to the Philippines: "For generations to come the progress of India in wealth and civilization must be directly dependent upon her progress in agriculture. Agricultural products must long continue the most important part of the exports, and the future development of Indian commerce will mainly depend upon the improvement in the quantity and quality of existing agricultural staples, or on the introduction of new products which shall serve as materials for manufacture and for use in the industrial arts."

The land must be the chief source of wealth, with its rich product of hemp, tobacco, rice, sugar, etc. Besides the crops, there are great forests and mines—still *land*. The forests contain some of the most valuable hard woods in the world. Already American lumber companies have been formed to destroy these splendid and permanent sources of beauty and wealth. What a ghastly iniquity American lumber-

ing in the Philippines would be, with its clean sweep attended by flames that devour what the axe spares or has not reached. Even the Spanish Government in the Philippines guarded the forests. There was a Department of Mountains and Forests from which licenses for cutting timber had to be secured. There was also an export duty on logs. In Burmah the Forestry Commission yields more revenue than any other department of Government. In India the forests are carefully preserved.

The mineral wealth of the Philippines is still an unknown quantity. The mineral wealth of no country has been of permanent advantage to it, except in so far as this wealth consisted of coal and iron, tin or copper. The precious metals are sought too feverishly and are exhausted too soon to constitute the strength of a State. The hundreds of millions of silver taken out of South America by Spain disappeared in fifty years, and left Spain poor and pessimistic. The California miners wanted to wash down the mountains and to cover with boulders the great wheat valley of the Sacramento, where fruit and grain now exceed in value the former out-put of gold. Mining only introduces a country to hardy adventurers and speculators. The perma-

ment settlement and prosperity of the country depends upon neither class. If coal is found in the Philippines, the American navy on the Asiatic Station would be independent of other Governments in case of war, and manufactures would more easily be developed.

During the period of transfer of jurisdiction over the Hawaiian Islands from the Hawaiian to the United States Government, much public land found its way mysteriously into private hands. This was stopped by President McKinley as soon as he learned of it. Nevertheless, in Hawaii the best land is owned by the sugar trusts. The independent farmer is represented by the Chinese market gardener. He can take low lying strips of land and with Asiatic patience (which means constant handling and fertilizing) can raise a crop that would shame an American farmer. With the exception of sugar plantations owned by trusts and small market gardens owned by Chinese, there is no room for farming except on the sides of the mountains, where a few rectangular clearings indicate attempts to encourage the white man who wishes to till the soil. But American farmers will not be in a hurry to make a living, in the attitude of a fly on the wall, plowing the

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sides of extinct volcanoes seven days from the shores of America.

Nor will the American farmer migrate to the Philippines. While in Hawaii the native race is dying out, and Chinese, Japanese and Portuguese are the larger part of the population, in the Philippines it is not so—the natives are increasing. Homestead farming for white men in the Pacific islands seems improbable while there is plenty of land in our own West that only needs irrigation.

A DEPENDENCY MUST PAY FOR ITS OWN ADMINISTRATION

Common honesty would demand, then, that the Filipino people have the value of their money—the best possible administration. An honest and good Government, although less costly than a dishonest and bad one, is still expensive. The trouble in the past has been that the revenue from the islands has not benefited them. The Spaniards, like ignorant farmers, harvested wealth but returned nothing to the impoverished sources of their income. The money was squandered or shipped out of the islands and did not go into public improvements.

As the land is the great source of private and public maintenance, it follows that a system must be devised by which the Gov-

ernment and the actual tenant get as much as possible from the land. A landlord class in the East would really collect its rent from Government as well as from tenants. For when there is a landlord the Government's tax, or its share of the product of lands, is not so large as when there is not. Now if there is a deficit in the Philippines the United States must make it up, or the Philippines must incur a bonded indebtedness. How absurd it would be to enrich individual or corporate owners of land, whose existence reduced the revenues, and then borrow or charge the deficiency to the American people! It will be a misfortune for the islands if their surplus wealth for generations is not returned to them in all manner of improvement—as, for instance, of lands, of transportation (roads, railroads, bridges, and telegraph), schools, harbors, docks, public buildings, to say nothing of a perfectly organized, well-paid civil administration.

The danger in our relation to the Philippine Islands is that we shall exploit them as a result of private greed and of official ignorance. American capital, energy, and inventiveness could harm the Filipino more than even Spanish and Roman rule. Our position is that of trustee, and we must not

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repeat the dishonorable practices that have made our dealings with the red men a national disgrace. There probably were never more than half a million North American Indians, but there are perhaps twenty times as many Filipinos. Having been unfaithful in that which is least, we expect success in a larger rule. And we can attain it, if we are willing to learn by our own past failure, and by others' success.

PRACTICAL SUGGESTIONS

(1) A Commission to give titles to realty, where titles can be proved.

(2) The resumption by Government of all property to which title cannot be shown by present owners. This would include much monastic lands.

(3) The condemnation and purchase at a fair valuation of all lands privately held on clear titles.

(4) The preservation of the forests under a scientific Commission.

(5) The surveying, mapping, numbering, etc., of all lands.

(6) The leasing of lands, mines, forest privileges, under terms fixed by competent Commissions.

(7) A land tax which should yield the greater share of the revenue.

The Past Government of the Philippines

THE wisdom of our acquisition of the Philippine Islands has been a good deal debated by our press and people. The political morality of the transfer of sovereignty has been seriously questioned. Our occupancy and our sovereignty, however, are both facts, and any discussion of the government of the Philippines need not concern itself either with the wisdom or with the morality of our position.

What the distant future may hold in reserve for our new possession is also a matter that cannot at present concern us. The United States may decide to make a present of the islands to England, to Germany, or to Japan. An autonomous native government may be set up, to compete with Japan and Siam in Europeanizing the Orient. The archipelago may turn out to be a colony of the United States, administered

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by a cabinet officer, or a territory under a governor appointed by the President. The problem of the ultimate form of government for the Filipinos is too complex to be settled at once. The United States, however, is responsible for the immediate government of the islands and must provide for the security of life and property, for civil and religious liberty, and for such "improvements" as will stimulate agriculture, trade, and general industrial life. We may leave to the future, then, to a more intimate knowledge of the Filipino people and to a more philosophical discussion of our constitutional limitations and of our utilitarian requirements, the whole question of a final form of government.

We can only improve upon the Spanish rule in the Philippines by knowing what that rule was. A brief survey of Spanish Colonial Government in the islands will reveal to us its organic defects and a definite list of abuses it was powerless to correct. We shall then be in a position to ask whether American institutions and methods of government can cope with the complex and accumulated difficulties of the Philippine situation.

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SPANISH RULE IN THE PHILIPPINES

The Philippine Islands under Spanish rule were governed like other colonies of Spain. At first Mexico provided a model for Manila. A military ruler was given supreme power for an indefinite period. He was aided by a council composed of the archbishop, the chief justice, the general and the admiral. In case of his death the Supreme Court assumed the reins of government. More recently a lieutenant general in the Spanish Army has been selected to act as governor of the Philippine Islands, to serve for three years.

The archipelago was divided into a number of civil and military provinces. At first these divisions were called Encomiendas and were rented out to officials called Encomenderos, who received their appointment by purchase or by political favor. The Encomenderos were a heavy-handed, pioneer type of ruler, their duties in their remote and savage districts being to put down insurrections, to repel enemies, to keep open some sort of communication with Manila and to support the colonial government with vessels, arms and men in times of foreign attack or invasion. They

were also expected not to neglect their own welfare, but to be able to make their fortune during their term of office.

The military, plundering Encomenderos were finally succeeded by the judicial, salaried Alcaldes. The change from a military unpaid ruler to a judicial and salaried ruler was a great step in the provincial government of the Philippines. But the Alcaldes with legal training and a small salary, while an improvement upon previous governors, developed faults of their own. The smallness of the salary was made up for by trade concessions granted to them by the colonial government and these concessions became the cause of monopolies, extortions and corruption. Besides this financial flaw in the operation of the new governorship there was a more serious trouble which arose from the union of judicial and executive authority in one person. The appeal from the Alcalde as civil ruler had to be made to the Alcalde as judge, with the consequences that to an American seem self-evident. The Alcaldes became despotic, corrupt and hateful to the Filipino people. As recently as fifty years ago there were thirty-four provinces ruled by Alcaldes and two military commanderies.

In 1886 civil governorships were created

for a new division of the archipelago into eighteen provinces and the Alcaldes became purely judicial officers. The islands, including Sulu, were then divided into nineteen civil provincial governments, four military general divisions, forty-three military provincial districts, four provincial governments under naval officers—some seventy divisions in all.

The new Provincial Governors were a great improvement upon the Alcaldes. If the Encomenderos had been *par excellence* military rulers and the Alcaldes judicial, the Provincial Governors were above everything else civil rulers. In another respect the new officials were better than the old. They could not touch the public funds and had no official perquisites or concessions by which they could make money, but had to depend wholly upon their fixed salary.

A Provincial Governor in the Philippines was, therefore, a person of consequence, both because he represented the Governor-General and because he was responsible for a large number of varied and important duties. He could publish or not, at his own discretion, the decrees sent him from Manila and he fixed the rate of taxation for his province. He had at his disposal a military force of civil and local guards. He could

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temporarily suspend subordinates from their places and pay. He could order the arrest of suspicious persons and after three days turn such suspects over to the judge. He was chief of police and could impose fines up to \$50. He must preside at all elections of small native officials and also at the conscription of troops. He was superintendent of primary instruction as well as harbor master and forest commissioner from whom permits for felling trees must be secured. A most varied office—a most responsible one. The only councilor for the Governor was the mistakes of his predecessors; his only protection from extortion was his official income which no longer depended upon what he could seize or upon trade concessions.

The destruction of the usefulness of these officials is to be found outside the definition of their duties. Their misfortune was that their tenure of office was so uncertain, depending as it did upon political exigencies and clerical influences, that few of them felt it worth their while either to settle down to a studious inquiry into the needs of their province or to frame far-reaching plans. The provincial funds were drained off to Manila, while the Governor's recommendations for local improvements and public

works were neglected. The roads went unrepaired, bridges remained broken down, town halls and travelers' government rest-houses lapsed into dilapidation. Foreman quotes the instance of a parish priest who told him in 1887 that although there must have been \$300,000 paid into the local fund in his province up to the year 1881 by his now parish, yet financial aid was refused by the government during the cholera epidemic in that year. Under these discouraging conditions, when both the Church and the Colonial Government conspired to render an honest and efficient provincial government impossible, it is not surprising that the Governors developed faults of their own and joined the "game of grab" they saw going on around them.

There are about 725 towns in the Philippine Islands. Each town had a petty governor, Gobernadorcillo, who was either a native or a half caste. His services were compulsory, like a Roman mayor's in the decline of the Empire. He was elected for a term of two years; was the representative of the Governor of the Province and judge of local petty disputes; was the local agent for the collection of taxes, was responsible for the capture of criminals, and it was to him the parish priest looked to further the inter-

ests of the Church. There were very few towns in which this position was a lucrative one and being often responsible for the taxes it was an exceedingly burdensome one. Consequently it may be supposed that the "Captain," as the Gobernadorcillo was familiarly called, found means of recouping himself not nominated in the bond. The misfortune of this poor official, slapped on all sides by the higher functionaries whose local work he was expected to do, was that he must please the Church or forfeit his position, and sometimes his property and his life, when to satisfy the friars was often more difficult than to satisfy the provincial governor whom he was supposed to represent. Many of the towns about 1890 were made municipalities, and the chief official was called municipal captain. Now the Mayor is called Alcalde.

I will give one illustration of the domination of the State by the Church in the Philippine Islands. It was the annual custom of the Archbishop of Manila to spread a Spanish flag on the pavement of his cathedral, to notify the Governor General and his suite to attend, and then in their presence to walk upon the symbol of Spanish civil authority. Everyone recognized this spectacle as the assertion of the superi-

ority in the Philippines of Rome to Madrid. The last Governor General, I believe, refused to attend the ceremony.

Under Spanish rule the revenue of the Philippines was derived from duties on imports (which produced about one half of the income of the government); from trading licenses; from certificates of personal identification issued according to income (*cedulas personales*); from the capita-tion taxes on Chinese; from taxes on raffles, cockfights, lotteries, etc. Until 1884 all natives paid tribute. Taxes at rates fixed by the provincial governors were collected mostly in rice, but every male also was obliged to give fifteen days' labor a year, or a cash commutation. In case money was paid in place of labor, the tax went into the colonial instead of the provincial treasury and a good deal of speculation surrounded this method of commuting a labor tax by cash payments. Provincial governors would keep the money and instead of sending it to the Colonial Government at Manila would report that the taxes had been paid in labor. This, as we can see, robbed the colonial treasury and also stripped the provinces of the benefits of labor expended on the roads, etc.

There was a Supreme Court in Manila

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and one in Cebu. There were four first-class courts in Manila, eight in the provinces and some thirty-seven courts of three minor grades in the provinces. Seven of the provincial governors retained judicial functions. Foreman says: "A criminal or civil lawsuit in the Philippines was one of the worst calamities that could befall a man." There was no right of *habeas corpus*, trials were often secret and an accused person with powerful interests against him could rarely escape from his accusers.

UPRISINGS AGAINST SPANISH RULE

The condition of Spanish authority in the Philippines being such as has just been outlined, it can be imagined that the native population was restless under this rule. Indeed the history of the Spanish Colonial Government in the Philippines has had to face constant insurrection on the part of the Filipino people against its authority. In every generation there have been notable revolts. It is interesting to observe the dates and the occasions of a few of these uprisings.

1622.—Bohol revolted against Jesuits; suppressed by Governor of Cebu with troops.

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1622.—Insurrection in Lyte.

1629.—Insurrection in Surigao in Mindanao.

1644.—Bohol revolted and won independence under a native king; thirty-five years later the Recoleta friars persuaded them back to their allegiance.

1649.—Revolts in several provinces against forced labor; natives brought from Samar to Cavite to work in arsenals and do native military service.

1660.—Insurrection in several northern provinces against enforced and unpaid labor.

1744.—The despotism of a Jesuit priest caused an uprising in Bohol.

1762.—There was an uprising against the Spanish rule in Luzon.

1807 and 1814.—Riots in Ilocos; due to the brutalities arising out of the Government tobacco monopoly, with its prescribed crops and fines.

1823.—There was an insurrection under Andres Novales, subdued by the Governor General in person.

1827.—Revolt in Cebu; put down by the friars.

1844.—Revolt in Negros; governor killed; the cause being that State prisoners' labor was credited to the private account of the governor.

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1872.—There was an uprising at Cavite, nominally to oust the Spanish friars from native benefices. Native priests were executed and excluded from benefices.

1896.—Insurrection under Aguinaldo.

1897.—Treaty granting armistice of three years on payment to Aguinaldo of \$800,000.

This list, while not complete, is sufficient to show that the Filipino people have not borne meekly the Spanish yoke. Moreover, the causes of these uprisings are so specific and so just as instantly to win our sympathy.

ATTEMPTED REFORMS UNDER SPANISH RULE

Naturally a state of almost chronic insurrection could not be endured without some mitigation at the hands of the Government of those abuses which stirred popular indignation. Especially in the last century we can see a determined effort, made largely by the friends of liberty in Manila and by the liberal statesmen in Spain, to reform the government of the Philippines. The first method was to give the islands a representation in the Spanish Cortes, in order that at the center of Spanish lawmaking there might be a voice to instruct and to exhort in favor of the distant Filipino sub-

jects. A return wave of absolutism in Spain finally ended this "representative" era. Later in the century, during another liberal government in Spain, an assembly of reformers was called in Manila where the needs of the people could be more clearly seen and where the voices were more numerous which insisted upon reform and could intelligently assert the needs of the Filipinos. The following abstract will give some idea of these events in the nineteenth century which affected the relation of the Philippine Islands to Spain in the direction of a reform of government in the archipelago.

1809.—The famous Cortes of Cadiz contained a Filipino delegate.

1810.—The first suffrage bill known in Spain passed in the Cortes which contained a Filipino delegate.

1812.—A Filipino delegate signed the act of constitution.

1814.—Ferdinand VII returned to Spain. Absolute rule, inquisition, rebellion.

1820.—The King was compelled to acknowledge the Constitution. Cortes admitted Filipino delegate.

1822.—Cortes admitted Filipino delegate.

1823.—Cortes admitted Filipino delegate.

1828.—A French army supported the absolutism of Ferdinand.

1828.—Ferdinand instituted for the second time the Salic law allowing descent of crown in female line.

1833.—Ferdinand died.

1833.—Isabella II, Queen, two years old. Her mother Christiana of Naples as Regent.

1837.—Filipino delegate member of the Cortes regency. Finally, Filipino delegate was excluded.

1868.—Isabella fled to France.

1874.—Alfonso XII ascended the throne. A reform assembly was called at Manila by the Government of Spain. This assembly, made up of persons born in the islands, had power to vote reforms subject to the ratification of the metropolitan government. The reforms which were voted were frustrated by the friars and the Philippine assembly was discontinued.

From these lists the causes that prevented a reform of civil administration under Spanish rule can be readily seen. A half a century ago and more there was a strong probability of reforms being carried by means of the representation of the Filipino people in the Spanish Cortes, but this was ultimately prevented by the reactionary government at first of Ferdinand VII and afterward of Isabella II, whose absolutism

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conflicted at all points with the growing liberalism of Spain. Later in the early seventies, when again liberalism triumphed in Spain, the possibilities of reform in Manila were thwarted by the influence of the friars directed against the approved recommendation of the assembly of Filipino reformers.

THE DEFECTS OF SPANISH RULE

From what has now been said, it can be seen that there were many defects in the Spanish government of the Philippines. Let us select a few of these mistakes of organization and of administration as clearly revealed in the causes of insurrection.

1. Unregulated authority of Governor General.

2. Practical veto power exercised by Church over governor and mayor, even over head of Colonial Government.

3. Confusion of functions performed by provincial governors, whether military encomenderos, judicial alcaldes, or recent civil governors with their multiplied and scattered responsibilities.

4. Purchase of governorships.

5. Inadequate or no remuneration for governors, who were expected to find ways and means of recouping themselves or who

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were given trade concessions which led to financial oppression.

6. Power of Manila to absorb local taxes.

7. Consequent lack of local improvements.

8. Dependence of tenure of governorships upon clerical and political influence which discouraged plans for local improvements.

9. Making the local mayors responsible for taxes.

10. Enforced labor.

11. Enforced crops at arbitrary prices.

12. Enforced military service.

13. Enforced emigration.

14. Exclusion of native priests from native benefices.

15. Confused land tenure and absorption of best land by the Church.

Most of the abuses in the Philippines under Spanish rule would appear to be the result of civil and religious tyranny. An absolute monarch and a more absolute Pope were the upper and lower millstones that ground the natives. While the American flag floats in the Philippines, we cannot imagine forced labor, forced crops, forced emigration, forced military service. No ecclesiastic will in the future rob, punish or exile natives over the heads of or by

the aid of civil officers. Taxation may be expected to benefit the people more than before; justice to be swifter and less expensive.

Our Government may, however, give new ground of complaint. Political influence may secure the appointment of corrupt or ignorant officials. We may palter with the land question until our politicians, as they did in Alaska, have discovered what there is in it for them. We may fear the Catholic vote and instead of enlightening American Catholics, succumb to the representations of those members of the hierarchy who willingly or unwillingly are the mouthpieces of the Vatican. Our weaknesses and our stupidity, however, will be all our own. The Filipino may expect, therefore, to be rid of most of his ancient grievances, and there is still a chance that he has not jumped from the frying pan into the fire.

The Future Government of the Philippines

AN AUTONOMOUS GOVERNMENT IN THE PHILIPPINES

THERE are many reasons for believing that the Filipino people are not ready for self-government. They are not a homogeneous people. Like the natives of India, they represent the widest difference of race and civilization. Some forty languages and perhaps eighty distinct tribes denote the mixed and conflicting elements of the population. There are tree-dwellers, head-hunters and savages. There are also very advanced people like the Tagals and the Visayas. It is more than doubtful, however, whether the latter, who do not represent a half of the population of the islands, possess in economics or politics sufficient knowledge, training, or power to extend the blessings of a stable government over so diverse a constituency. This statement is likely to

be resented by those ardent and idealistic champions of universal suffrage who conceive that an adult male wherever caught has the right, and should be given the opportunity, to vote. But we must be governed by the teaching of history, by our own experience and by common sense in such matters rather than by *a priori* principles and by the false philosophy of some of the fathers of the Republic.

(1) Free institutions are the growth of centuries and can no more be thrust into the hands of lower races than they could have been clapped upon the people Cæsar found in Britain or upon our Saxon ancestors over whom Alfred ruled.

(2) Stable governments, like quiet, happy families, depend quite as much upon temperament as upon intelligence. The English race may be pardoned, therefore, when it feels that there are temperamental failings in some races which militate against self-government. South America is a constant illustration; almost no important reform can be inaugurated there without a sanguinary revolution. The Filipino people resemble in temperament the South Americans, with the addition of Malay strains. For instance, in the Filipino army there have been personal rivalries and am-

bitions which were set above the claims of country even among courageous and patriotic leaders, and had not death interposed would surely have led to there being two presidents, two commanders-in-chief, etc.

(3) Another reason for doubting the expediency of thrusting self-government or American citizenship speedily upon the Filipino is to be found in the characteristics of Asiatic people. The people of Asia were for so many centuries under absolute forms of government, that whatever we may say of their capacity they actually have little disposition to employ themselves in self-government.

We shall have difficulty in securing the coöperation of the individual with any form of free institutions we may plant in the islands. Missionaries in the East find this trouble with their native converts, whom they cannot with years of training teach to administer independently the affairs of Christian missions, to preside intelligently at meetings, or to order their affairs according to what we call the usages of self-governing citizens. In Singapore the acting governor told me that it was next to impossible to get the large population of Chinese, who in the Straits Settlements are citizens, to vote for the offices they are entitled

to vote for. Even when so few votes as twenty-one are required to legalize an election for the Governor's Council, that small number can hardly be secured among thousands of Chinese. In Manila the Chinamen are among the most intelligent and thrifty of its residents. If they will not exercise their franchise, why would Filipinos?

(4) Beyond these reasons for thinking the Filipinos are not yet ready for self-government—the great diversity of a half savage population, the lack of training in free institutions, the temperamental barrier and the Oriental apathy toward the ballot box—there is a common-sense proposition. If America has in the Philippines a problem that will tax its strength, how can the Filipinos solve it alone. If a windlass will hardly pull a man out of a slough, can he get out alone by pulling at his boot straps? This question, which implies properly the weakness of the native races, is especially pertinent when it is remembered that any experiment in self-government would take place under the covetous eyes of several great States who would surely take advantage of any internal trouble to seize and annex the islands.

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DEMOCRACY IN ASIA

While what has just been said is true and is a sufficient reason for doubting the wisdom of turning over at present ten millions of people scattered in more than a thousand islands to a native national government, yet there is an element in Eastern life which is very favorable to American tuition of the Filipino people in free institutions. The essential democracy of the village life in the East is one of the paradoxes of the land of absolute governments. It has been called attention to most ably by Mr. Horace M. Fisher in his pamphlet, "Principles of Colonial Government Adapted to the Present Needs of Cuba, Porto Rico, and of the Philippines." This fact that Mr. Fisher builds so much hope upon is patent to a traveler in the East. He does not I think call attention to the village community in China, nor does Mr. A. H. Smith, in his delightful "Village Life in China," notice the political value of the Chinese village democracy, and yet it is that which to-day is the backbone of national life, incomparably superior in its cohesive power to the sovereignty of the Manchu dynasty and the Government centering at Peking.

Even during the Spanish occupancy, as we have seen, the Filipinos were given a measure of local self-government, being allowed to elect *gobernadorcillos* (mayors). Under American rule this practice has been continued. When we were at Bacoor, some fifteen miles south of Manila, where Cavite joins the mainland, we found a native mayor who was spoken highly of by the officers of the regiment stationed there. Bacoor had been one of the capitals of Aguinaldo, and as soon as it was taken by our troops a native government was established; but this was the rule among Filipino towns in the hands of the American army. Our own institutions sprang so directly, historically, and so naturally from local self-government that we, more than any other people, ought to know how to deal with this political unit which seems native to Asia.

But the village democracy of Asia is a very different thing from the democracy of an American town meeting. One is the direct result, perhaps, of primitive tribal methods and is patriarchal, the other is a late discovery after much political experiment and is social. At any rate, the democratic idea exists in the village life of Asia. So far as we are concerned with it in the Philippines it must not be forced. Let

us, like nature, move slowly in developing the institutions of a free government. For instance, the natural impulse of an American would be to establish the jury system in the Philippines, but juries are apparently somewhat beyond the reach at present of Asiatic people. The jury system requires intelligence, fairness, honesty of opinion, and incorruptible qualities that are rare, even in highly civilized communities. The village life and the effective, though somewhat absolute, authority of the headman, have left throughout Asia a fondness for the swift decision of an individual arbitrator. A fatherly police magistrate is about the type of court best suited to the East. Even in Japan to-day there are no juries and the policemen who are taken from the Samurai (warrior) class are petty magistrates with power to impose fines not exceeding five dollars.

In the new American scheme there are as yet no successors to the governors-general and to the provincial governors. This omission is worthy of remark, because the abuses of Spanish rule centered largely around these officials. If the organization of a new government in the Philippines can grow from the bottom—from local self-government to larger units of rule—rather than

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as Aguinaldo proposed, from the top, from the power and place of a president, there are good prospects of success, so far as a form of government can produce a rule free from tyranny and corruption.

AMERICAN RULE IN THE PHILIPPINES

The United States has shown little aptitude for government of a nonrepresentative sort. Its territorial government, notable in Alaska, until Governor Brady was appointed, has been scandalously lax. Its management of the Indians has been disgraceful. Its carpet-bag rule in the South was unedifying. From the ratification of the Constitution until to-day the United States has dealt most stupidly with the negro question. Ex-Secretary Herbert was right when he said: "Never was there such a blunder as in the theory that suffrage would help educate the negro. What the negro did want above all things, was to know how to take care of himself so that he might develop." What a savage people needs is education in thrift, industrial trades, agriculture, physiology, hygiene, together with the three Rs. We have now discovered how to educate the negro, thanks to General Armstrong and Booker T. Washing-

ton. But where did Booker T. Washington learn the needs of his race? From General Armstrong and from personal experience. Where did General Armstrong get his ideas? In Hawaii, from his observation of the natives of a Pacific Island. We have blundered with the negro in giving him a vote before he was qualified for it. We are now trying to lift him by an education, largely manual, learned from missionary experience with natives in a Pacific island. Let us then apply our theory to these very islands and to others that have come under our rule. Instead of disputing about natural rights and human equality, let us teach the Hawaiian and the Filipino how to care for themselves, physically and economically, before we give them citizenship or self-government.

We have failed in nonrepresentative government because our system at that point has peculiarly illustrated our idea that public office is the spoils of partisan victory at the polls. The Red Indian prefers the army officer to the political "Indian agent," for he says, "The man who wears the brass buttons does not lie." Our army and navy are a qualified service with training, ideals, and *esprit de corps*. A civil service equally well trained, and with similar tenure of of-

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fice, would be equally valuable and reliable. This we must have or fail in the Philippines.

Americans have not waked up to the personal satisfactions and to the personal development of character, the reward of the man who assists in the government or the uplifting of a lower race. Chinese Gordon and Rajah Brooke are extreme examples of a type of which every commissioner in India is also a representative. The missionaries, too, share in this satisfaction of assisting civilization, although their contribution is more a personal, beneficent relation than it is the founding of new and superior institutions. There is a great career of a high and stimulating sort now open to Americans who are willing to give themselves intelligently and laboriously to the service of our new charges.

PRESENT RULE IN THE PHILIPPINES

Until some form of native government is established, how is American civil administration in the islands to be carried out? I found this question was deeply interesting the most experienced and best minds in India. "What would be your scheme," I asked a high official, "for governing the

Philippines when American military rule gives way to a civil governor?" He replied: "I would take Roosevelt and give him a very large salary and put him at the head of the whole thing." "But," I said, "we are saving Roosevelt for the Presidency, we consider him one of our greatest men." "That is your mistake in America," he replied, "that you think such a job as you have on your hands in the Philippines can be carried to a successful conclusion by anyone except your best men." "But in America," I said, "we do not give large salaries." "You will have to," he replied, "if you go into the colonial business. What with the risks of life and health in the tropics, the comparative dreariness of exile, and the temptations to speculation and corrupt gain, the only security a government has for a high class of civil servants is to pay them well. England does that in India, and it has been justified by the results. There is almost no case under modern administration of malfeasance or corruption, and the Indian service secures the best type of Englishman. After twenty-five years of service, out of which there are four full years of vacation, with a possibility of a month free in every twelve besides, the Indian civil servant can retire on a

pension of \$5,000 a year. If this were not the case do you suppose a thousand British subjects of the Queen, even with a British army of 70,000 troops, could rule three hundred millions of natives of India?" "But what would you do," I continued, "after you had picked out your first-class American to be at the head of the civil government of the Philippines?" He replied: "I would ask your leading American universities to nominate some of their best recent graduates for service in the Philippines, and under some sort of competitive examination would take the pick of these. I would then give this number finally selected, while yet in America, training in the Spanish language, some instruction in agriculture, some knowledge of political economy, and especially I would make them familiar with the usages of a police court, and then I would send them to their respective tasks in the islands."

There is no reason why the Filipinos should not enter such a civil service, especially in the lower grades. The present native magistrates are receiving much censure for their laxity and corruption. In India most of the lower courts have native judges who are as prompt and honest as the British judge over them. As soon as the

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Filipino sees that energy and honesty are the watchwords of government, he can be both, if a Bengali can.

CHURCH AND STATE

The Church received from the Colonial treasury some \$750,000 annually. This amount maintained the Archbishop of Manila, the cathedral and its clergy, four bishops, various missions, monasteries, convents and Capuchin friars. In addition to this considerable amount from the State, which was secured by direct taxes, the income of the Church was indefinitely increased by foreign investments and by land rents of rich Colonial property, which was administered with little regard to tenants or their rights. Besides all this there were the usual sale of masses, bulls, indulgences, fees for baptism, marriages, burials, etc. And there were no charitable disbursements.

As already mentioned the Church took advantage of the lack of land laws or vague laws and possessed herself of the best land in the islands, often taking it out of the hands of Filipinos who supposed they owned it. This was sometimes done under the guise of law, as, for instance, when the occupier had failed, even after many years'

residence, to secure a title, or for nonpayment of church taxes which were raised until the native was unable to meet them. In other cases land was taken outright and the civil authorities were cowed into acquiescence;—the former owners if troublesome were transported to penal colonies off the coast of Africa. Moreover, the Church has persistently resisted any reform in these abuses of land tenure. Naturally such land robbery has exasperated the Filipinos. The Church, too, has exercised a practical veto power over the civil government. Even governors-general were recalled to Spain upon the complaint of the Pope's representative in Manila, as was the case with General Blanco, and in provincial and municipal government the civil authority watched for the nod of the ecclesiastical power. Rome, not Madrid, has ruled the Philippines. The friars, Spanish monks, have held parishes contrary to law as well as to the best interests of the native converts, and have excluded and discouraged a native ministry. Aside from the humiliation and anger of the Filipinos at such treatment, it is contrary to missionary experience. To give permanence and growth to a mission church a native clergy must be developed. Protestantism has perceived and carried out

this wise and sympathetic plan in Japan, China, Burmah, India, Brazil, Africa, in fact everywhere it has gone.

The Spanish friars in the Philippine Islands are unworthy of the support of American Catholics. I am not speaking of the friars as individuals but as representatives of religious orders which in the Philippines have proved themselves for three hundred years hostile to civil and religious liberty. A couple of years ago Cardinal Gibbons remarked to a friend of mine: "The Church in the Philippines is a branch of the Catholic Church we are not proud of." Archbishop Chapelle says that the Filipinos love their Church. His statement is a half truth and deceptive. The Filipino people value the Catholic Church, but loathe the clergy. The insurrection of 1896 under Aguinaldo was incited by the land robbery and tyranny of the friars. The indictments of the clergy can be read in the Rebel Edicts. The ends of the revolutionary movement of 1896 are defined in five brief articles. The first words of their formulated demands are (1) "Expulsion of the Friars."

A further evidence that the outbreak was against the friars is to be found in the well-nigh universal flight of the friars from their cures. A most extraordinary confession of

guilt and fear—this flight—when it is remembered that the people called the priest *padre* (father) a relationship of love and service. Worse still, when friars were captured they were killed. The first three priests secured by Aguinaldo in his first battle were respectively roasted on bamboo spits, smeared with oil and burned, and minced to pieces. Not a nice, civilized, or Christian thing for the natives to do; but what deep-rooted hatred it displayed! Thousands of friars fled for their lives to Manila, Hongkong, and Spain. An Englishman of my acquaintance was at Vigo, Spain, when three or four thousand in their flight arrived off the Spanish coast—got home. The Spanish Government made a requisition upon Vigo to receive and entertain the fugitive monks. The inhabitants of Vigo, themselves loyal Catholics, sent back word that if the friars were landed in their city they would drive them into the sea. The unwelcome fugitives were accordingly landed secretly in Barcelona and housed in the barracks. A gentleman who often visited the insurgents while they were assisting us against the Spanish army in Luzon told me that on one occasion he asked the general of a native force if he had captured any friars. “Yes, we have cap-

tured friars." "What do you do with them?" "There is the hat of one," the general grimly replied, pointing to a furry, shovel-like souvenir hanging on the wall. Such is the attitude of the native Catholics in the Philippines to the Spanish Catholic clergy.

The United States so far has not fared very well at the hands of the ecclesiastics in the Philippines. While the American army was outside Manila, the archbishop published a letter which described our soldiers as lustful infidels, and robbers, from whom the Spanish and Filipino homes would suffer desecration. A native woman, a Catholic and educated in a convent, told me of the panic in Manila that followed this letter. Women fled from the city or were barricaded in their homes, from which they peered out fearfully at our men as they marched into the city. It happens that the American soldiers in the Philippines have been conspicuous for their morality. Again during our occupancy of Manila the fugitive friars joined with the Spanish prisoners in misrepresenting to the insurgent troops the intention of the United States. A monstrous story of future slavery, etc., excited the natives and was partially responsible for the final outbreak against our authority.

The United States will never restore permanent order in the Philippines until Spanish friars are expelled from the islands. As long as religious orders remain they will keep the Catholic Church in a ferment over rival monastic pretensions; they will unite only to oppress the people or to plot against the power of our Government and to thwart reforms. This has been their history for three centuries. The United States deserves the support of its Catholic citizens in ending a condition in the Philippines which they would not tolerate in America for a day. The Catholics of South American countries freed themselves from similar ecclesiastical bonds as one of the steps to political independence. American Catholics will surely wish to give their co-religionists in the Philippines that which they themselves enjoy.

Security and justice are ultimately the only rulers that will give tranquillity to a conquered people. For the sake of these great results, which yield to each man the fruit of his toil, much can be endured.

An Impression of Manila in War Time

THE approach to Manila delights an American, it is so free and so spacious. Manila Bay, while vastly larger, reminds him by its openness of New York harbor or of the waters between the Golden Gate and the wharves of San Francisco. In this respect it is unlike most Asiatic ports. You reach Shanghai up the estuary of the Yang-tse and the Woosung River, some twenty miles beyond Woosung, where large steamers must come to anchor. While the Woosung is broad, for the twelve miles between the Yang-tse and Shanghai, nevertheless you have the inconvenience of a narrow channel and the strangeness of going inland for your port. Hongkong is found with some difficulty up a stream flanked by steep hills. Its immediate harbor is good, but it does not open its arms to you. Canton is twelve hours beyond Hongkong. Calcutta is a

hundred miles up the Hoogly, as treacherous a piece of river navigation as can be found in the world. You approach Manila, on the contrary, through Manila Bay, a hundred and twenty miles in circumference; on your left blue mountains make a distant background, while on your right a flat, pleasant coast line accompanies you some thirty miles to the city.

This spaciousness is not altogether a benefit to shipping. The only natural roadstead for ships is in an elbow held out by Cavite eight or ten miles west of Manila. Here the Spanish fleet was found by Admiral Dewey and here our men-of-war now ride at anchor. Near the city a breakwater gives quiet anchorage at the mouth of the Pasig; but this is unfinished and is inadequate for any large number of vessels.

Manila lies low and does not quickly catch the eye watching from an approaching steamer. A stretch of beach, and behind it the driveway and the grassy levels of the Luneta creep out of the unbroken country. Then the dome of the cathedral, the outline of the palace, and the light colors of a thin line of buildings are discerned. In the distance behind the city lie blue, hazy mountains.

The Pasig, which cuts the city, is a rapid

and good-sized river with no appearance of flats or sewage. Near its mouth huge cascos, large boats covered with curved awnings of bamboo, are tied up to the wharves. Farther up the river, but within the city limits, are fine houses set in gardens full of flowers, with walls covered with the pink bloom and crimson petals of *La Chaine de l'Amour*; out of the gardens stone steps descend to the river. It is more beautiful than the Thames. The stream is quite as clear, but around the houses even in December is a wealth of brilliant tropical vegetation. Still farther up rice fields spread away on either side. Perhaps the natives are plowing. You fancy they are drowning, for the water buffalo, the wooden plow, and the man are in mud and water three feet deep. Perhaps the green, young rice is sprouting through the water, or brown fields are waiting to be harvested.

You pass little native villages of huts in groves of plantain. Dozens of natives at convenient places on the bank are washing and drying their bright-colored clothing. The men beat the clothes on flat rocks, the destructive equivalent of our washboards, while the women spread the clothes on the grass of the higher bank, in the sun. This participation of men in the

hard labor of the household should recommend him to our American women, for generally in the East woman is little more than a beast of burden. In Japan women harvest rice standing up to their hips in mud and water. At Nagasaki women are stevedores. In India they work with men on railway construction, sometimes carrying as much as two hundred and fifty pounds on their backs.

The streets of Manila are more European than those of any other city in Eastern Asia. The European quarter of Yokohama, of Shanghai, of Hongkong, is a veneer. Your nerves feel the pressure of the dense packed native population behind the stately warehouses and English homes. Manila is a large city of pretty consistent arrangement, building and appearance. Of course, there are native quarters with huts, but they do not overrun and give color to the city. The cathedral and public buildings are built of stone or of brick, with a finish of plaster. Since the great earthquake of 1888 the new houses have been built with upper stories of wood. In them you see great casements filled with oyster shells in lieu of glass. All day these great windows are open, pushed back on grooves, at night they are closely shut. The churches

are exceptionally clean, more so than in Italy or France. The color of the city is gray, the stone is gray, plaster is gray, paint is gray. The red earth in some places in the suburbs suggests New Jersey.

The military government of Manila has taken great pains with its sanitation. The streets are kept as well as Fifth Avenue; trees have been planted to take the place of those destroyed by the Spanish troops and by the insurgents.

The climate finds out the weak organ in a man's body; consequently, drink and dissipation meet a swifter physical penalty than in America. Colds and chills, that in America would go to the throat or lungs, seem in the tropics to attack the digestive tract. The temperature in Manila varies from 75° to 95° F. But there is at any given season so little fluctuation in temperature, that the clothing put on in the morning can be worn all day. In white duck, or light flannels, with a straw hat, one is as comfortable in the Manila winter as he could wish to be, and he is only 14 degrees north of the Equator. The nights in December were almost too cool for the scanty bed clothing which the hotels provide. The summer is, of course, trying; but an officer told me he preferred Manila in the summer

to Washington. With plenty of exercise, care about eating and drinking, and an abdominal band, a man can keep in perfect health in Manila all the year around. I asked a number of soldiers about themselves, and the invariable reply was, "Haven't had a day of sickness." The chief medical officer in Manila told me there was very little malaria there; examinations in suspected cases did not often show malaria germs. The men catch an itch from bathing in the river, and especially from the mud in the streams. Clothes washed in the river produce the same effect, and a steam laundry will prove a boon. A fine water supply is brought from the mountains, through what is called the Depository.

Public conveyances in Manila are of two or three sorts, small and inconvenient for people of the stature of Americans, but the charge is moderate and the little horses go at a great speed.

Heavy loads are pulled by small bullocks or by the water buffalo. The latter is almost a hairless creature, with skin like a rhinoceros, and great corrugated horns that sweep back over his shoulders. Our soldiers have a grudge against the carabao, because he becomes intractable if not allowed to wallow in water at least once a

day. The wonder is he stands his job so long.

The Filipino bed is the most stately and sensible contrivance for its purpose I have ever seen, even in a museum. It is a large four-poster. Around the top is a wooden frame, from which depends a valance of lace some eighteen inches deep; below this, and over the top, fits a mosquito canopy. The bottom of the bed is strung tightly with split cane in the pattern of our chair seats; upon this is spread a fine straw mat of native manufacture, wrapped in a white sheet. At the top and bottom is a round bolster. The bolster at the foot of the bed bears a picturesque name—the Dutch widow. The only bed clothing is a thin, woolen blanket folded up and deposited in one corner.

The appearance of the people is, on the whole, attractive. Their faces show the traces of Chinese and Malay blood. *Mestizos* of Spanish or Chinese and native stock mixed are often better looking than Filipinos of pure blood. The inhabitants are not as picturesque, however, as the Japanese or the natives of India. Still, their costumes have sufficient quaintness and singularity to give local color to the town. At first sight all the women, especially of the work-

ing classes, seem to be in evening dress. In fact, the upper garment, a white cotton waist, is cut low and is always slipping off one shoulder. A typical sight in Manila is that of a woman, without a hat, a cigar in her mouth, carrying on her head a pannier of vegetables. Her brown shoulders are bare and square; she wears a green skirt to her ankles; her feet are the color of the earth. Sometimes shoes are worn into which only the bare toes are thrust. The effort to keep these on, and to balance the burden on the head, gives a long, scuffling gait, with all its motions below the hips. The men, as we all know, wear their shirts outside their trousers, falling around them like a butcher's frock, only shorter.

The better classes dress more like Europeans. The women although always bare-headed, wear a low-necked, wide-sleeved waist, called *carmisa*, with a delicate *panuelo*, or handkerchief, over the otherwise bare shoulders, and seem fond of bright-colored dresses that train.

The American soldier clad in khaki, girdled with a cartridge belt and revolver, adds to the city's picturesqueness. He stands in the middle of crowded streets, acting as policeman, and has acquired the energetic discipline of a bearded and tur-

baned Sikh, the British "bobby" of the East.

The stores on the Escolta appeared to me larger and better stocked than any for Europeans I had seen in Japan or China. Two or three English firms have branch stores in several cities in Asia and carry large stocks of general supplies. But in Manila the stores were owned by local firms, and were doing a good business in ample quarters with large stocks.

Manila at night was a new sensation. Military regulations forbade anyone to be in the streets after an early hour. On a moonlight night at about ten o'clock, I drove, under special permit, from the barracks in the old walled city to my hotel in the new. Manila was a city of the dead. A sentry's challenge, a flitting shadow in the Chinese quarter, were the only evidences of life I encountered in a city of 200,000.

A Word About Labor in Asia

THE question of labor in Asia is the problem of agricultural labor under the conditions of a dense population. It is difficult for us to appreciate these factors of Asiatic civilization. We of Europe and America have become so used to manufactures, and our prosperity has been made so largely to depend upon their increase, that we do not easily picture a country where steam and electricity are practically unknown. Moreover, the population of Europe and America is so inconsiderable in comparison with the population of Asia, that we have no conception of what it means for hundreds of millions of people to live almost directly from the soil. In India eighty per cent of the population are agricultural, another ten per cent live in villages but gain a livelihood from occupations which supply agriculturalists. Two hundred and sev-

enty millions of people, in India, therefore, get their living almost directly from the land. There is no reason to suppose that the proportion is smaller in China, which would give a population in China of 360,000,000 almost directly connected with the soil.

Asia is, therefore, on an agricultural basis and has a population which cannot be much further increased and be fed from the land. There is, of course, unoccupied land in India, but the habits of the people make it difficult to induce migration from the more congested regions to these unoccupied areas; and at the same time the religious customs of India prevent emigration outside of India except for outcasts—people whose doings religiously are practically of no account. In China, too, especially in the west, there is unoccupied land. Nevertheless, on its present basis of civilization, with an enormous population, which must get its living by agriculture, *Asia to-day has labor to export*. This is a curious statement for an American or European to hear. To have an Indian statesman tell you that he hopes America, especially in its new possessions, will import Indian labor, and to hear Japanese dealing with their surplus population as a possible export, quite startles

an American, both when he remembers the Declaration of Independence, and its proud boast of human equality; and also when he considers the anxiety and jealousy with which American working-men look at any invasion of their territory by cheap goods or cheap labor. This pressure upon Europe and America from Asia, to receive its chief product, labor, will grow stronger.

The natural annual increase of population in India is one per cent, 3,000,000 a year, or 30,000,000 in each decade. The cheapening of Asiatic labor under normal conditions of increase of the Asiatic population, and, consequently, the pressure of that labor upon our markets in some form must continue, if not by immigration. Asiatics may be kept out of America bodily, but in that case their relief will be found in developing manufactures in Asia, whose product can be sent to our markets. If their goods are kept out of our markets by tariff regulations, then they will have to protect their home market, which we to some extent have secured and look forward to occupying more largely.

The pressure, therefore, of Asiatic labor is bound sooner or later to effect our own laborers unfavorably. This seems inevitable. The extension of our own trade, and

with our own trade our own civilization, will automatically produce the results I have named: viz., the development of manufactures in Asia and in consequence the eventual restriction of our markets. Whatever we can learn, then, about the Asiatic laborer is worth while. To-day he is a manual laborer. There are, of course, other tools and utensils than those used upon the soil, but they are crude and slow. In comparison our tools and methods are magical. A log sawed up at Rumford Falls, Maine, on Monday is a newspaper read in New York Friday. But in Asia you repeatedly see a huge beam thrust like a telescope into the air, supported at the higher end, by a great sawhorse. Upon the high end and underneath are natives who work a double-handed saw and complete their task after weeks of great physical labor. A Jacquard loom, in Fall River, automatically lifts the thread for the shuttle to weave its intricate design. In Canton I visited a silk mill, which consisted of one loom in a little room. On the top of the loom was a half naked Chinese cherub who pulled the threads out after the manner of the Jacquard, while his mother, squatting on the bare ground, threw the shuttle back and forth. She was weaving an exquisite white damask silk. *The labor*

problem of Asia, therefore, is to transform an agricultural civilization into an industrial, and the hand machine into the power machine. This will mean an increase in the number and size of the cities; necessary legislation to correct abuses; a quicker intelligence; in short, a larger extension of the democratic principle.

One of the serious reasons why the United States must give the most liberal government possible to the Philippines is connected with just this transformation. The Filipino must eventually advance from this agricultural basis of life to the industrial. But these changes cannot for two reasons be easily made by absolute forms of government. Home governments which are absolute wish to retain dependencies as markets and do not wish to develop the power in the dependency to supply its own needs. The congestion, too, of a highly intelligent and ambitious civilization compels an extension of the franchise and a limitation of monarchical or central power, naturally repugnant to absolutism. A democracy is a most suitable government to direct the development of dependencies, if it follows the law of democracy.

To expand the agricultural resources of the Philippine Islands, which is of first im-

portance, labor must be cheap. Consequently, the problem is how to secure cheap labor, and at the same time enlarge and enrich the lives of the people. American occupation tends to increase the cost of living. This happened immediately in the Philippines. During the first eighteen months of our occupation the cost of living in Manila increased at least fifty per cent. The same is true in Cuba and in Porto Rico. In Siam, under the extreme Europeanizing which has gone on in the last twenty years, wages have advanced from 75 to 80 per cent, but the staple articles of food have advanced on an average of 300 per cent. Wages cannot increase at the same ratio as the price of food among a large population of unoccupied or slightly occupied natives.

We can see, therefore, at this point the danger of future discontent among the people in our dependencies, who find the cost of living increased out of proportion to the increased wage they can earn. If in addition we increase the tariff on imports in these countries, and levy duties upon their goods received at American ports, the disparity between the cost of living and wages will increase. We must always remember that these old countries, unlike America, are well populated for their size, and have

not the advantage that a new country like the United States has in dealing with economic questions.

The problem of labor in the Philippines may be aggravated also by the unwillingness of the natives to work. They have never been enthusiastic laborers. They have never shown the natural industry of the Chinese or the Japanese. We may find the same conditions in the Philippine Island, especially when we deal with the savage tribes, that the British found in South Africa, where they have had to pass laws for the promotion of industry among the lazy blacks. The English did this, to some extent, by remitting the taxes of those black men who could show that they had labored for so many days in the year. We Americans shall probably be in a position to sympathize with some of the apparent tyranny exercised over native races in the past by those masters who have secured their labor in arbitrary ways.

Two systems under which land was worked exist in the Philippines: one common to the north, the other to the south. In the north the plantations were coöperative. The owner divided the estate among tenants who were provided with a buffalo and the necessary implements and were then

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responsible for the product of the acres allotted to them. Tenants received from one quarter to one half of the sugar they produced, but they provided all the labor necessary for working the land as well as for crushing the cane. The owner took machinery and insurance risks and made advances to the tenants upon their probable share of the product at an interest of ten or twelve per cent. In the south, however, plantations were carried on by day laborers who often were paid in advance. Sometimes large estates were broken up and carried on by overseers who were not in any sense owners or tenants, but who often provided the capital for paying the laborers and their running expenses. The actual owner here, too, was responsible for the land, machinery, buildings, supplies, etc.

Lascars It is worth while for an American workingman to have some idea of the wages of a workingman in Asia. In the Indian ocean one sees on British ships ~~lascars~~ and other Indian and Malay people who seem to satisfy completely their British officers and to live on almost nothing. A jinrikisha coolie in Yokohama can, perhaps, earn on an average eighty cents a day and he is one of the toughest men, physically, to be found anywhere. At Nagasaki one of the

sights of the world is hundreds of little Japanese women and men coaling ship by hand, from lighters alongside. They pass baskets of coal over their heads to those who stand higher up than themselves and so keep an almost endless chain of coal baskets running up the sides of the ship into the bunkers. For this exacting labor, by means of which a thousand tons of coal can be loaded in ten hours, these little people receive, perhaps, forty cents a day. According to the report of the Peking Syndicate, made by a friend of mine who explored the coal and iron fields of China, a coal miner receives sixteen cents a day and an iron miner eighteen cents a day. At Canton I saw a large boat—as large as a small ferryboat—propelled by a stern wheel up the river. I supposed it was a steamer until it came near when I discovered that in a cage in the stern of the boat about sixteen naked Chinamen were turning a treadmill. The English captain of our steamer told me that they probably got ten or fifteen cents a day besides their rice. In an Indian tea garden I saw men of superior physique who received eight cents a day; women six cents; children two and a half; but they are also supplied with rice, blankets, and their scanty clothes. A skilled stone ma-

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son, whom I saw repairing palaces, carving the most exquisite capitals of columns, received eight cents a day. In Manila in a cotton mill weavers received fifty-five cents per day. All the above sums are in silver, which in Asia has about half the value of our gold.

A School at the Corner of Asia

A TRAVELER in the Far East is glad when he reaches Singapore. If he has come from Europe by way of Egypt and India, he knows that Singapore is his turning point. He is on the threshold of the South Seas. It is a step to China and Japan. If he is bound for America, he knows that he will soon be in cooler weather on the vast, mysterious Pacific.

Coming from the Golden Gate, a traveler likewise feels a new joy on arriving at Singapore. He has tired of the sailless reaches of the Pacific; he has felt apprehensive and perplexed in the face of the enormous population and latent power of the yellow races; he is relieved to find himself in touch again with Englishmen and British rule. The English flag flies in Shanghai and Hongkong, but it is an alien flag. In Singapore it is the national flag,

and the Indian Empire is just across the way. Calcutta is next door to the Straits Settlement. At any rate, in habits of travel and talk the two are like London and Paris, although there is a week of water between them. An American is no longer running away from home letters sent via San Francisco or Vancouver; he is going toward mail sent via England. He is only twenty-five days from London. What happiness! He is like a man dreaming that he is dying of the Black Death in the Middle Ages who wakes up in health in the twentieth century. Unless he could catch an Empress liner at Hongkong for Vancouver without having to wait, it would be as short a journey to New York going ahead as turning back. He is halfway home, and has turned the corner of Asia.

Singapore is charming in its openness. The sea breezes blow freshly through the city. Although it is only eighty-eight miles north of the Equator, it is not so hot as one would think. There is a variation in temperature the year around of only a few degrees. In a straw hat or pith helmet and white clothes a European in the open air is perfectly comfortable. You even feel active and like sharing in the Englishmen's tennis, hockey, football, or cricket on the

esplanade in the afternoon. Indeed, the fine water front is the characteristic of the city. Along part of the shore to the east runs a green embankment flanked by a broad hard road. Beyond this road is the great green for out-of-door games. Beyond this, another broad road. The athletes of an afternoon look up from their sports across road and green shore to the sparkling harbor. The whole town strikes you as being built in open order. And the smiling islands in the bay seem to have invited Europeans to a really agreeable abode.

Outside Singapore there is also a sense of elbowroom that its rivals on the Pacific coast of Asia do not possess. In Yokohama the bluff blocks the way to easy driving or riding until a circular road around it shall be completed. In Shanghai the Bubbling Well road is pleasant but short, and the European veneer of building in the city, though splendid, is thin. At Hongkong you think a black cloud is in the sky, but, glancing up, you find the Peak lowering over you. The mental effect of the Peak on a man in Queen Street is that of an incubus. Naturally, the Peak is also a wall to the rider or driver. A great road is contemplated around the island to celebrate

the Queen's jubilee, that at least will give one a chance to stretch his legs or scorch or gallop. But at Singapore you are not balked by any elevation in an effort to get into the country; you are not oppressed and overshadowed. To leave it by land, as Singapore is the southern tip of the Malay Peninsula, you go north. You can drive in a victoria on a level to Johore, shaded by palms and surrounded by the jungle, over fourteen miles of metaled road to the northern edge of the island. There you look upon a smooth, narrow strip of water, across at the mosques and palaces of the Sultan of Johore.

There is a Babel of races in Singapore, and each race has its own district or kampong. Travelers are bewildered by the brilliant variety of men and things mixed in this cosmopolitan corner. "In one spot you are dazzled by the silks of India; in another the sarongs of Java are spread out like a kaleidoscope; in another you are suffocated with an indescribable mixture of Eastern scent; in another an appalling stench meets you; strange rainbow-like birds utter raucous cries, and the long, thin, heavy arms of a gorilla are stretched out between bamboo bars in deceptive friendliness; in another there is such a mass of

packed boats that you hardly know when your foot has left dry land."

In open lands acres of pineapples are growing, the most succulent in the East. In the river Chinamen stand dressing rattan for chairs, or the Chinese dyer, whose hand is "subdued to what it works in," dips garments in pots of indigo. Gorgeous orchids, the despair of European collectors, cling to innumerable trees. The great tropical park, the spacious and stately Government House, reflect English order, thoroughness, and power.

But the thing that interested me most at this corner of Asia was a school—a school that seemed to contain all the cross-currents of Oriental humanity.

The Anglo-Chinese School was founded in 1886 by Mr. Oldham, now a clergyman in Columbus, Ohio, and acting, I believe, as the agent of the American Methodist Board. "The ultimate aim is to help in the evangelization and elevation of the non-Christian inhabitants of the island." In spite of its avowed missionary character, it was from the first generously helped by the Chinese. On being asked why he supported the American school, a Chinaman replied: "We Chinese and you Americans are outsiders here, and we must stick together."

In the day school, including the primary department of 323, there is an enrollment of 927. In the boarding school, 86. The day school pays its own expenses, including a donation to the boarding school, with its force of twenty-five teachers. Five or six hundred of these children participate in the morning exercise which opens the school, and a greater mixture of races could not be found. The roll call sounded like the last summons of the angel Gabriel—Abdullah, Alli, Agamparam, Ibrahim, Hogan, Rodrigues, Marijoor Sahib, Oi Hui Ham, Govindasamy, Vander Beek, Young, De Vries, De Souza, Lan Ba Ba, Jammahat, Maclean, Berlandier, Effendi.

Out of what romantic and glamorous spots they come: Benkoolen, Sumatra, Po, Borneo, Amoy, China, Jaffna (Ceylon), Siam, the Malay States, the Malabar Coast! Thirty-one nationalities were represented on these benches. I saw other excellent schools in the East, but all of these except in Honolulu were fairly homogeneous. The Anglo-Chinese school in Singapore seems, on the contrary, an ethnological museum. Each desk held two, sometimes three, pupils (so crowded is the school), and this juxtaposition emphasized by contrast the varieties of nationalities. On one bench a Malay

or some darker mixed blood with gleaming teeth and sparkling eyes, wearing the skirt-like sarong, sat next a blond English boy, the son of a sea captain. On another a small-faced Jew from Bagdad seemed on terms of affectionate friendship with a Chinese boy with a long queue. On another a short-haired Japanese was mated with a Kling who shaves his forehead, wears a Clytie knot and earrings, and whose ancestors were in India before our own had scattered from their cradle north of the Himalayas. These boys have bright faces. Bishop Potter talked to them about a sign language that was older than any other language. The deaf and dumb in America have a sign for lady, which is made by drawing the finger under the ear where bonnet strings are tied. The boys simultaneously burst into a hearty laugh, which showed not only that they had some fun in them, but that they understood English.

It is not the size or polyglot character of this school in Singapore run by Americans that is alone remarkable. The grade of scholarship is amazing. The course of study extends from A B C's to a point equivalent to freshman and sometimes sophomore work in Cambridge University,

England. In fact, the Cambridge University entrance examinations are sent to Singapore, and the boy who passes the best examination gets the Queen's scholarship—four years at Oxford, England, on £200 a year, with expenses paid out and back. A Tamil boy from this school got the last scholarship. His ancestors were forced into southern India by the war pressure of our ancestors, the white-skinned Aryans who crossed the Himalayas. Now the white Aryan has circled the world, and returned after ages of progress to take the conquered black Tamil by the hand, and through the white Empress give him the best education the world has to offer. What must the problem of fathers and sons be in these families! How far away the old is from the new! Generations alone do not divide parent and child, the Tamil in his hut and his son at Cambridge. The whole history of humanity parts them.

The Chinese are the cleverest of the races in this school, then the Japanese and Siamese. While the Chinese lead in mathematics, the Indians are the brightest at languages.

After the scholarship of these thousand boys, their cleanliness impressed me. They well may be clean when they bathe and put

on a fresh suit of clothes every day. I am wearing, as I write, a linen suit, made to order in Singapore, which attracted Bishop Potter for its neatness and fit. It cost \$1.50. The Javanese and Malays come to school in clean, fresh sarongs and jackets, the Chinese boys in their pajama-like jackets and baggy cotton trousers.

"What is the religious effect," I asked, "of this European education?" "The boys are expected to attend the opening exercises of the school, when the Bible is read and hymns are sung. There are also Bible lessons as a part of English literature. But there is no pressure toward Christianity brought to bear upon the boys. As a matter of fact, the advanced classes have been baptized at their own request."

Evangelization in these mission schools is the result of their influence. High ideals of Christian civilization are spread from them over the Orient: the political independence views of the Anglo-Saxon; richer conceptions of individual and family life; juster regard for the position and place of women; wider reaches of experience and of happiness for every pupil for life. In fact, these mission schools in Asia are mirrors of the social and political ideas upon which English civilization and freedom rest; they

are, consequently, the best means of leading the Orientals to self-government.

The English language is another influence making for individual freedom. In spite of the hundreds of millions of population, it is not impossible to make English the language of Asia. It is easier now for Chinese from the eighteen provinces to speak to one another in pidgin-English than to learn one another's language. The modern school, by teaching the English language, helps the industrial and political revolution. Mission schools have already turned out clerks, guides, interpreters, without whom business life in Asia would be very difficult; now they are preparing teachers for the vast population.

Even the games of the American and English schoolboy are eagerly acquired by the Asiatic boys. Nothing convinced me more of the potential greatness of the Japanese than to learn that they preferred baseball to cricket. They crowd the fields at Yokohama when a game is played. In fact, they have clubs of their own. I saw Japanese boys in one of the church schools at Tokio on Sunday after church, passing ball with the consent of the missionaries.

It is almost pitiable to see barefooted Chinese boys kicking a football, and the

little Malays in petticoat sarongs rushing after the pigskin. They follow hockey with the greatest interest. Oriental indolence, so-called, only wants the chance to show the keenest interest in out-of-door sports. What a healthful, stimulating pleasure that will be! If the population of Japan and China can represent the East, then nothing is farther from the truth than the phrase "Oriental indolence." The Japanese and the Chinese are the most industrious of people. We practically never saw an idle Chinaman.

Western schools can do much for these Eastern people. Chemistry, physiology, and physics should be taught. Superstition, founded on ignorance and fear of the forces of nature, would disappear under such instruction more quickly than under preaching. I do not undervalue evangelization; but the spiritual purity and advancement of a monotheistic religion, especially Christianity, can best be taught upon the foundation of physical science. Our religious experience is a condition of spiritual and social development which represents the best results of the world's evolution. Science will help its spread.

Of sixty-five Chinese students who came to America, only those who had scientific

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education were received, on their return to China, with favor by the Government. They could build bridges, survey land, superintend mines. The others, who had received a literary education, drifted into clerical positions in consulates and helped Europeans, but did not much help their own people—and were despised. It is European science that is to kill Asiatic superstition.

Christian Missions and Social Progress

TO place the Christian Mission upon the best plane for observation or discussion we should treat it from an evolutionary point of view. Compare its principles and practical benefits, from a sociological standpoint, with the heathen religions. If you undertake to compare Christianity theologically with the great Asiatic religions, you are lost. As a scheme of salvation, attested by the miraculous, Christianity in the East cannot succeed. The philosophy of Buddha is quite as cogent, speaking in terms of human logic, as Christian theology. The simplicity and dignity of Mohammedan theology is difficult to contend against. The final recourse of the missionary who pursues the subject of conversion with an Asiatic on theological lines is the miraculous. But when a missionary appeals to miracles to support the pretensions of Christianity

he is delivering himself bound to his enemies. An Asiatic can tell you from his religious traditions or records, or from his own experience, countless miracles. *Swapping miracles with a brown man or a yellow man, is an unedifying business for a white man, and it can only lead to one of two things, viz.: unexplained assertion or humiliating comparisons.*

A well-known missionary in Syria, as he once traveled out of Jerusalem, overtook a Mohammedan. The missionary and the Mohammedan were glad of each other's society and so rode on their way side by side. Their conversation finally fell upon religion and the missionary undertook to convince his fellow-traveler that Jesus was the Son of God. "I cannot believe what you say," said the Mohammedan. The missionary replied, "*I did not say it; God said it.*" And in recounting the incident to me the missionary declared that the Mohammedan seemed very much impressed. The other termination of discussion, when appeal is made to the miraculous, is *humiliating comparison*. Mark Twain narrates a conversation between a missionary and a Hindoo. The missionary told how strong Samson was and how he carried the gates of a city to the top of a mountain. The Hin-

doo told how strong Dundubhis was and how he brought mountains from Ceylon to India. The Hindoo was interested in Samson and asked where the gates were now. The missionary could not tell him. The worshiper of Seva was contemptuous at such an unsubstantiated story, and said: "Well, there are Dundubhis's mountains."

Shall we in America give up theology and the miraculous? I am not advising that, but I am saying that we cannot use them effectively in converting Asiatics. To us creeds may be the door to faith. It is not generally so with Asiatics; creed must come last not first with them. An evidence of the truth of my position is found in the history of the Oxford Mission at Calcutta and of the Cambridge Mission at Delhi. These are attempts to send the best English culture to convert the best Indian culture—men whose education and breadth would enable them to meet the best thought of India, whether of Mohammedan Mullah, Hindoo Brahman, or Buddhist priest. Argument for argument, what is the result? One conversion for each two years of its existence is the history of the Oxford Mission. No conversion at all from the upper classes at the Cambridge Mission, so I was

told by a resident, Mr. Westcott, son of the Bishop of Durham.

What I have said so far may seem to be a very discouraging introduction to a paper on Christian missions and social progress. As a matter of fact, however, we are not to be discouraged by the weakness of bad methods. Our topic describes at once the present attitude, in intelligent communities, toward missionary endeavor, and it also suggests a method. Christian missions and social progress go together.

Social progress is what we are now looking for as a result of missionary activity. We are not afraid of social progress as of something purely materialistic, or, as of this world. We see in it a gauge of spiritual advance, a means of further advance. Higher social organization is evidence of the infiltration of the spiritual. High social organization is, too, a means by which man conscious of his social obligations advances still further. Social progress is an effect and a cause. It is a result of the Spirit of God and it furthers the spread of that Spirit.

Now when we ask about social progress, we are asking about something we can see, compare and form a perfectly accurate valuation of. For social progress is one side of the evolutionary process, which has been

studied not only in biology, but in political institutions and social conditions. We have for such an investigation, scientific standards of comparison. You may have difficulty in knowing the truth as between two philosophies founded upon *a priori* principles mutually denied, but you will have no difficulty in knowing the truth as between a Chinese practice of medicine that mixes its potions as the witches who greeted Macbeth:

“Fillet of a fenny snake,
 In the cauldron boil and bake;
 Eye of newt and toe of frog,
 Wool of bat and tongue of dog,
 Adder’s fork and blind-worm’s sting,
 Lizard’s leg and howlet’s wing,
 For a charm of powerful trouble,
 Like a hell-broth boil and bubble,”

and a practice of medicine founded on anatomy, physiology, chemistry. As between a penology which beheads and throws bodies to the dogs, as in Manchuria, and a penology that uses capital punishment with reluctance and surrounds it with privacy, with physical easement and decency. As between the throwing of infant dead outside the city walls, as at Peking, or into the Gan-

ges at Benares, and the memorial bed in hospitals to little children.

A great doctor in a New York hospital said to a friend of mine recently, if you tell me how you feel, I do not know what ails you, but if I cut you open I can see for myself what ails you. We want to know what ails the Asiatic or the heathen in general, well, let us see by looking into their social conditions what ails them. We will cut into their life and see with scientific eyes. We will not take what they say. To proceed upon the old basis and assert that at any rate your heathen is a sinner, and must be treated for sin, is as if a doctor treated a patient for sickness without giving it a name. What sickness? What sin? So we find the special need of our Asiatic and then we try to relieve it.

Besides, if we are studying social progress as influenced by religion, we will study the power of various religions to induce progress. Here, too, is a clear-cut method for deciding the relative value of the great religions. *Discover their creative social power.* If I had been the Mohammedan my friend from Jerusalem confronted with his final argument, I should have stared. Had I been the Hindoo to whom the missionary could not show Samson's gates, I should

have laughed. But when I see a little American woman, for the love of Christ, sitting before eager Chinese youth at St. Luke's Hospital, Shanghai, lecturing to them on medicine, or the missionary doctor going the rounds of the beds; when I know of nuns, searching outside the walls of Peking, before daybreak, among dead children, to find by chance a living one, I am awed. Because I am *seeing* divine love.

A recent Japanese writer said: "Why send Christian missionaries to Asia? We Asiatics have Mohammedanism, the religion of benevolence; Buddhism, the religion of kindness; Confucianism, the religion of morality, what has Christianity that is better?" We can say it has love, which creates morality, which exhibits kindness and shows benevolence. You can have none of those spiritual estates that Asiatic religions promise in their fullness, until you have that from which they proceed—love—self-sacrificing love. If they say show it to us, you then are on your own ground; for as the Orient is rich in metaphysics and miracles, so is the Occident rich in the practical activities flowing from a divine love. An Asiatic cannot stare or laugh when his wife is healed by the missionary doctor. The other practical benefits of Christianity are

equally indisputable, for these can be seen. As an Occidental, as a Christian, as a modern, then, the missionary's appeal and justification to-day is visible social progress.

There are certain tests by which one can readily estimate social progress. (1) The richness and purity of family life. (2) The intellectual and industrial freedom of the individual. (3) Man's sense of brotherhood. Pretty much every form of social progress can be classified under one of these three heads.

The family life of Asia is its weakness, from a social point of view. Anglo-Saxons are so careful about what they discuss publicly, that the special conditions of Asiatic life which thwart Christian effort and yet need Christian help are the things we hear nothing about. The most eminent Englishman in Japan at the time told me it was in the homes that Christianity suffered defeat. He said, a young Japanese comes back from Europe or America very much impressed with Christianity and wishing to lead a life consistent with its teachings. He marries a Japanese wife. All goes well for a time; presently, however, he tires of her and after a good deal of hesitation and moral misgivings succumbs to the customs of his country which permit him to take an-

other woman informally into his home to live on terms of equality with his wife, and another and another. Presently our young Japanese with Christian professions and Christian learnings, finds more congenial expression of his attitude at the familiar and indulgent shrines of his fathers. The same is true of China. The marriage ceremony in Japan is not made much of, in fact registration is almost its only marked legal or public form. The Christian ideal of family life appeals strongly to the higher moments of the Japanese thoughtfulness on these subjects, and the English phrase "Christian home" has been adopted into the Japanese language.

What is called the "Social evil," assumes most piteous forms in Japan and China. In Japan it is attended by a virtual slavery into which parents sell their daughters. The girl is not free until she pays back out of her small share of her earnings the sum her parents have received. Such final settlement is made almost impossible by the variety of charges and expenses imposed upon her by those who arrange her life. A bitter controversy raged in the native press over one horrible phase of the situation. The courts were appealed to, to decide whether a girl could run away from

such a bondage and be protected in her liberty. The law seemed to be on the side of the owner. This fugitive slave law excited the indignation of the missionaries.

The Chinese blind girls, the most pathetic unfortunates that the streets of any city in the world can display, as they march in groups of six, eight or ten, in single file, are distributed each night at houses where they are desired. A Chinese alphabet for the blind was invented by a Christian teacher and now the missionaries rescue and instruct many of these doubly afflicted ones.

In India, it is admitted that the secret plague spot is the Zenana. The Hindoos did not originally seclude their women. But the behavior of their Mohammedan conquerors, who secluded their women, taught Hindoos the advantages of the practice. The result of the seclusion of women in a teeming population of 300,000,000, can be imagined—ignorance, artificial manners, and a domination of the younger women by the older—the despair of the more open-minded wives and mothers of the present generation. Under conditions of such close contact between the old and the young, with the consequent authority of the old, the knowledge, customs, occupations of modern

Europe are discouraged, and the young women, whatever their ambition, are likely to grow up with superstitions and ignorance which the elder women tenaciously hold. Even if a girl attends an English boarding school, upon her return home, especially after her marriage, the Zenana influences, like the wigwam influences upon the Hampton student, often cause a relapse into mental torpor and into fanatical abasement before an unseen world peopled with spirits, too often evil.

If, then, we apply the first test of social progress and ask how far Christianity contributes to the richness and security of family life, we find the superiority of the Christian conception of the family and even of the Christian use. At the mission stations it is arranged as often as possible, to have the graduates of the mission schools marry each other, in order that the young men may have the help of a Christian wife and the young women of a Christian husband. These Christian families, which are object lessons in the spiritual superiorities we believe Christianity to contain, most happily exemplify, as a rule, Christ's gift to the home.

Let us now ask briefly what the individual gains, in intellectual and industrial

freedom and in brotherhood by Christianity. I answer that he gains pretty much everything in India and a great deal in China and Japan.

European schools in Asia have done a great work, from the much-discussed Doshisha in Tokio, founded by American Congregationalists, to the great Anglo-Chinese school in Singapore, founded by American Methodists. At Cawnpore, under another son of Bishop Westcott and at other places in India, industrial education is being added to the ordinary curriculum.

One result of the education given by mission schools, is that the English language can almost be called the second language of Asia. If it were not for Cook's agents in Europe, it would be easier for an Englishman, with no language but his own, to travel over the ordinary routes in Asia, than to take the Grand Tour in Europe. Besides giving a common language to Asia, the schools have provided clerks, interpreters, etc., for European mercantile life in the East. A European education has another advantage for an Asiatic. The religion of the masses in Asia is spirit-worship and nothing will destroy superstitions believed in by hundreds of millions of people except natural science. Every mission station ought therefore to

have a band of sappers and miners, a corps of teachers of chemistry, physics, astronomy, geology, biology, etc.

The Asiatic, in spite of Buddha and Confucius, will have no intellectual freedom until he has more of what the missionaries have given him. Nowhere have the older superstitions of primitive worships clung around Christianity as the old spirit-worship of Asia has entwined itself fatally around the religions of Asia. Christianity has its superstitions, but compared to the superstitions in Mohammedanism, Buddhism, Hindooism, and Confucianism, our superstitions are as Central Park to an Indian jungle.

Christianity in the Orient is contributing to industrial freedom by introducing European methods of manufacture. You have heard it said that trade follows the flag. On the contrary trade follows the missionary and the flag follows trade. A missionary goes into the Himalaya Mountains; soon he is not satisfied to see the women drudging at their poor sewing, accomplishing so little with such great pains, and he sends for a Singer sewing machine. The missionary to China does not like to see children die for want of proper nourishment, and he sends for Nestle's food. The mission-

ary to Burmah has compassion for his poor people, subject to rheumatism and to the bites of venomous reptiles and insects, and he sends to Rhode Island for a famous pain-killer. So trade begins.

Lastly, by the tests of brotherhood, Christianity has more to contribute to the East than have its present religions. The inhumanity of Oriental punishment, the social divisions produced by the system of castes, the small regard for human suffering, evince conditions of life repugnant to the teachings of Christianity and abhorrent to the practice of Christianity in Europe and America to-day. The Christian religion has always had special success in its appeal to the poor and outcast. While the pundits of India cannot be argued into believing the Apostles' Creed, the leather workers and the lower castes are coming to a gracious self-respect through the Christian ministry of love which they receive at the hands of the missionaries.

In India, nine out of ten of the population are illiterate—they cannot write their names. Asia needs education; not only literary and scientific, but agricultural and industrial education. The East, too, needs wise Western sympathy with its new aspirations; and it also must have gentle leader-

ship out of many traditional customs, especially its patriarchal treatment of women. I know of no class from which the Orient can expect more help in this programme than from the missionaries.

The mission field ought to be turned to by anyone troubled with doubts about his own Christian faith. For, in the mission field, he will see that the real power of the Christian religion is the love of God exhibited in a perpetual Incarnation of human love and service. He will see, besides, the effectiveness of this principle in promoting social progress.

Christian Missionaries in Asia

THE incidental criticisms that the missionaries received during the Boxer uprising, were far from just. The causes of the unrest in China can readily be traced to harsh economic conditions; to Chinese hatred of the present dynasty, easily effervescent under a loose and corrupt government; and to Russian diplomacy. Perhaps there is no country in the world where the right of rebellion is so clearly taught by tradition, and by sages whose words have received a religious sanction, as in China. From the fourth to the sixteenth century there were a dozen revolutions of government in China, and countless insurrections.

The missionaries have been charged with:
(1) Interference with the religion of the country; (2) interference with the administration of justice; (3) insolent disregard of native customs; (4) luxurious and indolent

lives; (5) small intellectual cultivation; (6) confusing heathen by the controversies of Christian sects. I will consider these criticisms briefly and in order.

(1) The Christian religion is permitted in China by treaty, and therefore officially cannot be looked upon as an aggressive or antagonistic religious faith; for it would not have been granted standing room in the country if it had been considered hurtful to the throne or to the people. On the contrary, the essential doctrine of Christianity, in the eyes of the Chinese, is the Golden Rule, and this rule, in a negative form, as we all know, is found among the sayings of Confucius—was the sum of his teaching; accordingly, the Chinese complacently view the Christian religion as the embodiment of one side of the morality of their great sage.

Besides this, it is attributing altogether too much importance to Christian missionaries to suppose that so small a band of them as now exists in China could influence such an immense population, even if the influence resulted in hostility to themselves. I doubt if there are two thousand Christian missionaries in China, including the Chinese Inland Mission; which would make one missionary to each two hundred thousand of the population.

It must be remembered that the prevailing religion in China, as we use the term religion, is Buddhism; that this was not produced in China itself but was an imported faith, which came as a missionary teaching. There are only seven million Buddhists in the home of Buddhism—India—and these are mostly in Burma and Ceylon. But there are over four hundred million Buddhists in China and Japan.

Confucianism originated in the attempt of Confucius, who had the political welfare of the people of his province at heart, to devise a moral system that would engender nobler citizenship. Confucianism to-day is more a political faith than it is a religion. A Chinaman, for instance, can be both a follower of Confucius and a follower of Buddha without comment or reproach. The Chinese have no objections to a religious faith which does not interfere with their political institutions. The native religion of China, in having a political complexion, is like that found in Japan, where Shintoism has become little more than a political creed incentive to loyalty. Shintoism is a form of hero and nature-worship, without dogma or morality. Indeed, within two hundred years Shintoism has been upheld by its chief advocate because it was

not a moral system. Morals, this Japanese sage, Moto-ori, claimed, were invented by the Chinese as a discipline for an immoral people; this discipline the Japanese did not need. A Japanese can be at once a believer in Shinto and a Buddhist.

There is a sense in which Christian missionaries may be considered to have been hostile to existing forms of governments in the East. (a) In Japan, for instance, the Emperor is a fabled descendant of the Sun Goddess, the greatest of Shinto divinities. Any attack upon Shintoism used to be construed as, and was unwittingly, an attack upon the throne, because, theoretically at least, if the subjects of the Mikado changed their religion they had no longer their strongest incentive to loyalty. The persecution of Christians in Japan in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was undoubtedly caused by fear for that form of government in Japan which was so essentially bound up with the religion of the country. Catholic missionaries sought out and converted the slaves and lowest orders of a feudal State. Such enlightenment of the most abused of his subjects alarmed the Emperor, who saw in the extension of Christianity the subversion of the government of which he was the head. (b) In China, in

the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Roman Catholic missions became political agents. The missionary field was contested by the Jesuits, the Dominicans, and the Franciscans. But this war of monastic orders was supported by great European powers. Portugal was the champion of the Jesuits, and France and Italy of the Franciscans and Dominicans. Politics intruded to such an extent that the great and friendly Emperor K'anghsi complained to the missionaries that their dissensions ruined the cause they had at heart. In fact, the Christian missions of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in China were so political that they went to pieces with the fall of the power of Portugal, and had come into the greatest discredit with the Chinese even before that time. (c) To-day the political pretensions of the Papacy have placed Catholic missions on a more political basis than are the missions of any other Church. The Protestant missions are non-political, except as the accidents of their life may be taken advantage of by ambitious governments in Europe, as was recently seen in the action of the German Emperor. (d) The education of the humblest members of society and the inculcation of the conception of their moral worth

and independence must always threaten the power of an absolute ruler. Christianity is, therefore, uncongenial to an Oriental despotism, as upon analysis it will be found uncongenial in its true definition to any despotism. In the East, Christianity's largest triumph has been won among the poor and despised. In China the lame, the halt, and the blind—the deeply abject—have been most benefited by missionary labor. In India the outcasts, the very pariahs, neglected by the other castes, have received the Gospel of Jesus as the word of an earthly Liberator.

(2) The great body of missionaries do not from policy interfere with Chinese courts of justice. With the Catholic clergy this is not the case. As a Protestant myself, I am willing to ask the question: Why should not a missionary try to protect a Christian convert in litigation or accused of crime? In the first place, it cannot be true that the criminal classes seek membership in the Christian Church in order to secure protection against laws which they have broken. A most interesting phase of the Christian Church in the East is its similarity to the primitive Church in the early Christian centuries. A member is not admitted easily or hastily. He becomes a catechumen,

and is under constant instruction extending over months and sometimes over years. The number of new converts at each mission station is small, and consequently a missionary has minute and prolonged observation of any native seeking membership in the Christian Church. He cannot easily be deceived. Certainly there can be no wholesale deception.

On the other hand, if we ask what sort of justice it is that the Christian convert receives in case he is accused of crime, we are not surprised that a missionary shows him sympathy. The criminal must prove his innocence, and the court tries to secure a confession of guilt by means of torture. The judge in small towns is often a person who comprises in himself the function of chief of police and of prosecuting attorney. From such a judge there is slight escape after arrest has once been made. Needless to say, Chinese punishments are barbarously cruel. The day I visited Canton seven executions took place, with no stir or comment among the people of the city. A book I picked up there contained rice paper pictures of Chinese punishments, all of them of a disgustingly cruel nature. Has not a Christian missionary, in the name of humanity, a right to interfere, if he decently

can, with such farcical justice? More than this, it is well known that the court is in such collusion with the jailers that accused persons are often condemned and sent to prison merely in order that the jailer may release them or mitigate their punishment for a money consideration which he shares with the judge. Chinese justice is so topsy-turvy and impossible that European and American merchants will have nothing to do with it. They are guaranteed the right of extra-territorial courts, where all cases of dispute between themselves and Chinamen can be decided by the laws and by the procedure of their own country.

(3) There is not an insolent disregard of native customs shown by Christian missionaries. On the contrary, many of the missionaries have adopted the queue, the costume and manners, of the Chinese. Some Protestants have gone so far as to marry Chinese wives in order to identify themselves with the people among whom they labor. Neither is there much chance of ignorant violation of Chinese customs. The missionaries who would be capable of that, the younger and less experienced men and women, are in all cases under the direction of older and more experienced missionaries, whose constant solicitude it is to be on good

terms with the people among whom they live. The American Minister in Tokio told me he had never had a complaint against a native by a missionary or against a missionary by a native. Complaints lodged by natives and by American merchants against each other were of daily occurrence. Men who have pluck and resolution enough to exile themselves for life in a perpetual "yellow day" are not without the saving grace of common sense. The missionaries share with all pioneers in the possession of practical wisdom. At St. John's College, Shanghai, at a beautiful chapel service, I saw the older girls of the Girls' School screened so that they could not be seen by the other worshipers, who were the college students, professors, and visitors. Upon asking why they were screened, I was told that it was to conform to the Chinese custom, which made it indecorous for them to be seen by young men in a public place. I noticed a middle-aged Chinese woman in constant attendance at the side of the lady principal of the Girls' School. I asked who this fine-faced Chinese woman was, and was told that she was an attendant, employed because the Chinese do not regard it proper for a woman to appear alone in public. The American lady principal was

protected from comment by her presence. In fact, wherever you turn in a missionary compound, you discover some recognition of the peculiar customs of the country in the usages of the missionaries. Indeed, what would be gained by failing to fall in with the peculiarities of a foreign land? Nothing. On the contrary, unfriendly feeling would be excited against those objects for which the missionaries are giving their lives. Can we suppose them so obtuse or obstinate as to endanger senselessly their work? There is more sympathy between natives and missionaries than between natives and any other class of foreigners. In Japan missionaries have urged treaty revision by which the Japanese are allowed jurisdiction over foreigners in the courts. Their prophecies of the success of revision have proved true. In China missionaries have been chosen by the Government to distribute relief in time of flood in preference to Chinese officials.

(4) A missionary cannot live luxuriously or indolently on a thousand or fifteen hundred dollars a year, especially if he has a wife and children. The Chinese are a very poor people. Agriculture, as at present practiced there, will not adequately support the population. There is potential

wealth in mines; there is cheap labor for industrial development; but to-day the Chinese are exceedingly poor. Their houses are unsubstantial and mean. It is only by way of comparison with the poor Chinese and their flimsy dwellings that a missionary can be considered to dwell at ease. With their usual egotism, the Chinese have always regarded Europeans as representatives of poor races, because foreigners came to China to make money. Consequently, the Chinese considered themselves superior in wealth to the rest of the world. It would be wise, then, if all diplomatic, mercantile, and even Christian institutions of the East could be substantially housed to teach the Chinese an object-lesson. The missionary, by trying to live under the squalid and unsanitary conditions to which the great mass of Chinese are accustomed, would gain nothing, and very likely would lose his life.

There are two ways in which a missionary's money accomplishes more for him than if he were at home. American gold is worth double its face value in Chinese silver. The banks in Asia keep their accounts in silver. If you deposit gold in China, you are credited with silver at about double the amount of your gold deposit. If the next day you wanted gold, you would

have to draw silver and buy gold. A missionary's salary there, if he keeps a bank account, stands in his name for about twice what it would in America. Then, again, labor is very cheap. As the missionary's house is usually provided for him, it can be seen that he is able to live, in terms of food and service, better in China than he could in America. But this is true of European bank clerks and other business agents in the East, and is the result of the same causes. At best he is an exile.

The missionary in Japan and China is not indolent. To master the language requires the young missionary to study five or six hours a day for as many years. Most of this study is done with a teacher, and therefore is not of a woolgathering sort, but is intense application. These studies are so arduous that young missionaries often break down. In Japan this mental collapse is called "head." An eminent American physician of thirty years' residence in Yokohama, told me that these breakdowns were frequent, and among the saddest things in his experience. Besides his study, the young missionary is given his share of duties, which extend through the rest of his day, and generally throughout the evening. I should say the missionaries give more hours

to their work than the foreign mercantile agents, who, while hardworking, do not ordinarily have to learn the language, whose business is confined to definite hours, and who have the recreation of excellent clubs, with plenty of English sports, even including racing.

(5) The statement that the missionaries are deficient in mental cultivation is grossly untrue. Naturally, among a body of persons made up of different nationalities, from different social classes, and representing different religious bodies, there must be a difference in training and cultivation. The service performed at the mission stations is not all learned disputation. There is much nursing, Bible-reading, primary teaching, and there are services of a humbler sort, requiring devotion, character, and health. On the other hand, the missionary field has produced too many distinguished scholars to need defense. I was surprised at the intelligence and character of the missionaries I encountered, on steamers and at their stations, representing several Protestant denominations.

(6) It is a mistake to suppose that the Orientals are perplexed by the sectarian cut of the Christianity the missionaries bring to them. Denominationalism is a

gentler thing in the missionary field than at home. Basil H. Chamberlain particularly commends the Protestant missionaries in Japan for their freedom from sectarian strife. Modern Protestant missions in the East have caused no scandal by bickerings and jealousies. On the other hand, sectarianism itself (the assertion by antagonistic sides of a religion that each is the only true faith) has not been a source of confusion. The Asiatics are used to sectarianism. Hindooism and Buddhism are riddled with sects, and even Mohammedanism has sectaries. Sir Ernest Satow, the British Ambassador, resident for a generation in the East, told me that the Christian sects were no bar to the propagation of Christianity in Japan. Even in the early days of Christian missions in Japan, toward the end of the sixteenth century, Hideyoshi, the great usurper, is said to have tolerated Christianity for a time, because among so many religions as then existed in Japan one more or less could, in his opinion, make no difference.

It is claimed that in Japan the Christian missions were at first welcomed, then opposed, and are now treated with indifference. This statement is misleading, because it implies that the resulting indifference has been caused by the action of

the Christian converts, who have tried Christianity, have found it wanting, and are now neglecting it. There has been among Japanese converts to Christianity no disappointment and failure after a season of enthusiastic hope. The present status of Christian missions in Japan is the result, not of spiritual experiences, but of political development in the Japanese Government.

It cannot be claimed that modern Christian missions were welcomed in Japan. They got a footing with difficulty. But the result of their labors was to awaken a thirst for European civilization. After the revolution of 1868, Christian missionaries were popular because they helped to Europeanize Japan. An American missionary, at the invitation of the Emperor, remodeled the whole educational system of the country. Everywhere the missionary was in evidence as representative, not only of the Christian religion, but of the learning and institutions of Europe.

As the new spirit grew, while it continued to be imitative, it nevertheless developed an insular and patriotic attitude. Europe and America had treated Japan like a child. They would not give the native government jurisdiction over foreigners. The child in

turn grew surly, and threw away some of the gifts it had received from Western civilization, and undertook to return to a more strictly Japanese manner of life by putting on once more the national costumes, by using once again old customs, and by worshipping at the shrines of Shinto and Buddha. An intense race-consciousness, self-confidence, and pride superseded the former willing tutelage. While Western civilization was in fashion in Japan, from 1878 to 1888, Christianity was much sought after by the Japanese. During the closing decade of the last century it received the indifferent attention that all things coming from "abroad" were vouchsafed. The Japanese are rationalistic and utilitarian, consequently, Christianity does not easily appeal to them. But the work of Christian missions is progressing. Christianity produces excellent results on Japanese character. The social and domestic weaknesses of Japanese life are peculiarly susceptible to its influence.

The European and American merchants whom I met in the East spoke well of missionaries. The United States Minister to Japan went to Tokio hostile to missionaries; he became an enthusiastic defender of them, as a result of his observation.

There is, however, one condition of foreign residence in China that rather separates the merchant from the missionary. The merchant relies to such an extent upon the consular courts, and consequently feels so independent of the natives, that a somewhat supercilious attitude is easily developed in the foreign business population toward the people in whose country they reside. The final result of this spirit is mutual suspicion and some ill will. This antagonism between the foreign business community and the natives existed in Japan until 1899, when treaty revision abolished ex-territorial courts. In India a very serious outbreak took place against the then Viceroy when it was proposed to try Europeans before a native court. The missionaries, on the contrary, trust the natives and are trusted by them.

To tell the truth, the missionaries are contributing more to the advancement and enlightenment of the Far East than all other agencies combined. The diplomats are so much concerned with national rivalries that they have no especial gift to the people or to the government except the letting of light into China through the opening of the treaty ports, and the example of splendid and honorable service seen in such person-

alities as Sir Robert Hart. The Western merchants do not like protracted residence in the East, and come while there as little as possible into contact with the native life. The missionary is the only man who professes not to be homesick; who throws in his lot with the people and sympathizes with their needs. The schools, the hospitals, the examples of unselfish devotion which the missionary field affords, have larger gifts for the native races of the East, and especially for China, than proceed from any other source.

The most promising agency for reform in China is the native press. But this audacious and progressive experiment in journalism would have been impossible had not the missionaries first supplied fonts of type in Chinese character. The most beneficent institution in China is the Christian hospital, established and maintained by missionaries. St. Luke's Hospital, Shanghai, is so much appreciated that for nineteen years it has been self-supporting. The most saintly deed in China is the rescue of troops of the blind, especially young girls dedicated to infamous lives, who are instructed by the missionaries in useful knowledge by the aid of a raised-letter system invented by a Christian teacher. The most

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far-reaching influence in China is that which proceeds to-day from Christian schools and is the result of Western education and the example of Christian character.

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